1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p. 15b]

troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest resources was also open to everyone. The Department of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a cargo (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.55 a cargo. Some people in Angahuan make a business of taking firewood to Mestizo towns; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where ocote (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[824] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardina"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri anákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized,
[435] there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a
[563] father and three sons, 10, 12, and 15 years of age, cut a cord a day (16 cargas), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). In Paricutín two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

313 about 1 inch thick, 6 to 8 feet long, and 6 to 8 inches wide. Planks cut from timber with a heavy pitch content are said to last longer.

Beams are usually squared sections of red (heart) wood. They are used primarily for foundations and joists and are split out by wedges.

[438] An important product of Cherán is shakes, *tejamanil* (tasámani). The product is all exported, mostly to Zacapu. Some is also taken to Uruapan. Pine is rarely used for shakes, [824] as the product curls during dry weather and is not as durable as shakes made from fir. However, fir shakes are more brittle. Fir trees grow only sporadically among the pine forests and must be searched for. Once a tree is found, the shake maker examines it carefully, studying the position of branches and estimating the probable straightness of the grain. If the tree does not look promising, it is left. Even after a tree has been felled with the ax, it may prove unsuitable for shakes. In this case it may be hewed into a beam, but it is more apt to be abandoned.

If the tree proves suitable, it is cut in lengths with saw or ax and the bark is removed, together with any rotten or insect-eaten portions. Each length is now split in sections (péri) with [401] a wedge, *cuña* (injárukua). Each section has a width of four fingers at its outer edge, and a tree of average size will produce eight sections. One end of each section is then marked with a machete along the radii of the trunk. The section is first marked in the middle; each half is then divided in two, then each quarter, until 16 divisions are marked. At each mark the machete is driven in with blows of an oaken club to a depth of about 5 cm. The shakes are then split off with an oaken instrument called a *rajador* (uáŋgua). (Pl. 3, lower right and left.)

The completed shakes are thin and wedge-shaped when viewed in cross section. After [804] drying in the sun for 2 or 3 hours they are tied into bundles of 400 called an irépita (400 in Tarascan). They are transported and sold by the bundle, the price varying according to the [438] length. Different villages and Mexican markets have preferences for different lengths, usually 4, 5, or 6 *cuartas*.[8]

[8] A cuarta equals ¼ of a vara (the standard measure of length, about 32 inches long).

[text continues on p. 19a]

[p119a]

313 Cherán prefers shakes 5 *cuartas* in length,
804 called "thick shakes" (tasámani tiápiti).
438 Shakes of 4 *cuartas* (1 *vara*) are sold primarily in Uruapan and are spoken of as *de comercio*, or "small shakes" (tasámani sapírati). Shakes 6 *cuartas* long, preferred by some Tarascan towns, are called "long shakes" (tasámani iórati). In Angáhuan, shakes 5 *cuartas* long are sold in Zamora and are sometimes called Zamorana.

313 Shake makers usually work from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. A week's work routine is as follows: On Tuesday suitable trees are sought and felled. Wednesday is devoted to cutting trees in sections. Thursday and Friday the timber is split into shakes. One day is spent drying the shakes in the sun, and, if the maker is a professional, the finished product is taken to Uruapan or Zamora on Saturday and Sunday for sale. On this schedule one person might make two bundles of 400 shakes (two irépitas) in a week.

313 Railroad ties are usually made under contract
439 arrangements. The workers leave town on
397 Tuesday, usually arriving in time to cut a week's supply of logs for splitting and shaping. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are spent in splitting and shaping the ties with the ax. Saturday the ties are checked by the contractor, and the men are paid in time to return home that night.

313 A minor industry is cutting out blocks of
327 madroña and jaboncilla wood. These are sold
438 in Paracho, where they are made into doors, spoons, wooden bowls, and the various small wooden objects for which Paracho is famous. A few people in Cherán also make broom handles.

314 A considerable amount of charcoal is produced on the more distant lands of Cherán. Several men in town make their living entirely from charcoal burning. Oak is used almost exclusively for charcoal. Charcoal burners usually spend from Monday until Friday in the woods, and return home over the week end. Charcoal is usually sold in the woods to dealers, the unit of sale being a stack 8 by 7 inches by 6 feet.

In a number of Tarascan towns turpentine production is an important industry. This has been true of Cherán in the past, but. for reasons not discoverable, output at present is

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

223 in the tops of bushes in which quail perch and peer about. When the bird puts its head in the noose, the hunter, who is hidden nearby, pulls a string. Pigeons are hunted mostly by boys, who set snares near watering places. The birds ordinarily water at dusk, alighting away from the water and walking toward it. The boys erect small fences by the water and hang the snares in openings left at frequent intervals.

435 Deer meat is sold in the village at the price of beef. It is said not to be liked very well.
438 Squirrels are sold at 10 centavos and pigeons
262 at 5 centavos each. Wild ducks are brought from Zacapu and sold at 50 centavos to 1 peso each, depending on size.

AGRICULTURE

241 Cherán is primarily an agricultural village.
[463] Many Tarascan towns have industrial specialties at which most of the inhabitants work full or part time. For example, it is fair to say that Paracho is a woodworking and weaving village or that Patamban is a pottery-making village, even though a number of persons devote part or all of their time to farming. In the same way, although there are industrial specialists in Cherán and it produces an important amount of forest products, such as lumber, railway ties, and charcoal, farming nevertheless overshadows all other activities. Most Cherán residents own land or farm on shares, and the majority engage in no other activities. In relation to all economic activities, then, farming occupies a place comparable to that occupied by pottery manufacturing in Patamban or fishing in some Lake villages.

The basic crop of Cherán is maize. Second in importance, but ranking far below maize, is wheat. Yet despite the emphasis on these two crops, Cherán farming is extraordinarily varied, as the following list of cultivated plants shows:

Maize	Cabbage
Wheat	Silantro
Barley	Mint
Oats	Fennel
Amaranth	Pears
Broadbean (*haba*)	Plums
Squash (*chilacayote*)	Cherries
Pumpkin	Apples
Bean	Peaches
Potato	Quinces

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

241 | Maguey (agave) | Crab apples
Chayote | *Zapote blanco*

The above list is but a portion of the total number of varieties cultivated by the Tarascans in other villages. Plants used in Cherán but [438] grown in other villages include onion, garlic, tomato (several types), chile (many kinds), sugarcane, sweetpotato, banana, lime, lemon, orange, guava, mamey, mango, watermelon, canteloup, avocado, *zapote negro*, and cherimoya.

TYPES OF FARM LANDS

311 The lands cultivated by the Cherán Tarascans all have soils almost exclusively composed of 134 volcanic ash or cinders. However, low-lying areas which receive materials washed from the higher ground are usually more fertile and in a few specially favored spots may be cultivated annually. As a general rule, however, lands are cultivated only in alternate years.

311 Cherán lands are of five main categories: (1) "Plains" or valley floors, which may include some gently sloping or rolling areas but which are relatively flat; (2) patches of sloping land capable of permanent cultivation; (3) small areas of level land, usually called *"joyas,"* consisting of small valleys, depressions in the midst of lava flows, which were not covered by lava, and the level depressions in the craters of cinder cones; (4) relatively level or gently sloping garden plots within the town; (5) temporary fields on the steeper slopes of the mountains.

[423] The so-called "plains" consist of several large areas (maps 2, 3), subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are 241 the principal crops grown. The "plains" are 311 cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the "plains" become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive years. Therefore, men who own land in only one "plain" plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two "plains."

311 The largest "plain," usually referred to simply as *el plan*, is west of Cherán, extending from the foot of the slope below the town to the

231 232 animal to a herd containing bulls. Sometimes he will seek a bull regarded as superior. There is no service fee. Cattle are branded when [422] young and draft animals almost always are castrated.

231 *Pigs.*—Probably the pig is the second most important animal in Cherán; certainly it is the most common. Almost every family has at least one sow. If a family has no sow of its own, usually someone will lend a sow to be fed. In this case the litter is divided; should the animal lent be a male, the meat or proceeds of sale are shared.

[439] The pig is raised for meat and fat or for sale, often outside the village. The skin has very little value. No use is made of the hoofs, but [252] the entrails are prized as sausage casings. A [364] not unimportant function of pigs is their service as scavengers.

[232] Although some persons in Cherán were said to keep boars for breeding purposes and to charge a small fee for service (of from 25 centavos to 1 peso in Paricutin), evidently little care is taken in breeding. Most males are uncastrated until it is desired to fatten them. As the pigs roam the streets and nearby roads and woods during the day, little selective breeding seems possible. Normally, pigs are fed just enough corn to keep them returning home. At night they are placed in pens to protect them from coyotes.

Ordinarily only boars are fattened and slaughtered. Some people castrate their animals before fattening them, claiming they will fatten on less grain. Others dispute this, saying further that meat from castrated hogs has no flavor. Not every one knows how to castrate, but field notes do not indicate whether a charge is made for the operation when the aid of a neighbor is necessary. Animals being fattened are shut in small log pens with wooden floors, which are cleaned at frequent intervals. It is claimed that there are two types of pig, one of which fattens more readily than the other. At least 1 *fanega* (about 90.8 qts.) of maize is used in fattening a pig. Fattened pigs are normally sold to butchers; owners ordinarily kill their own pigs only for fiestas.

233 *Sheep.*—Although relatively few families own sheep, the number owned in Cherán is

236 Although mutton is eaten to some extent, sheep are raised primarily for wool. Sheep [262] are sheared twice a year, in late fall and early summer. A sheep yields about 1 pound of wool [435] in two shearings, which sells at from $1.00 to $1.25 (all monetary values are in Mexican currency). Black wool brings more than white (as it is all used locally for serape weaving).

233 *Goats.*—Only a few goats are raised. Normally they are herded with the sheep and are [234] treated like them. In rare instances the goats are milked, and the milk is made into cheese. [438] The most important use of goats is to sell them for food, usually outside the town, as goat meat [262] is rarely eaten in Cherán. Goatskins are sold uncured with the hair.

231 *Horses.*—Although some horses are bred in Cherán and some care is exercised in breeding, it is said the animals deteriorate because of the cold climate. Consequently, most horses are imported, but they also deteriorate rapidly. More important than the cold, undoubtedly, is the fact that no one in Cherán understands the care of horses. They are badly fed and receive little protection from the weather. Stallions are castrated.

In any case, horses are rare in Cherán and [492] are little used except as riding animals, especially by those with numerous cattle or pack animals. Riding and pack gear are the same [184] as those of the Mestizos. Although in other [241] Tarascan towns horses are used in plowing, this was denied in Cherán. A rather poor [435] horse costs about 70 pesos. Most horses be- [556] long to well-to-do men and primarily are indicators of social position. Attitudes toward owning a horse are a weak reflection of those of the vanishing Mexican *caballero*. Women almost never ride.

Horses are fed maize, oats, maize stalks, and [232] wheat or oat straw. Few people have any knowledge of treating illnesses of horses. [422] Ownership is indicated by branding, and horses [552] are given names similar to those used by [262] Mestizos. Horse meat is not eaten, but horse [281] hides are valued for tanning.

Mules.—Mules are even rarer than horses and have a higher value. Almost all are im- [492] ported. They are used mostly as pack animals, but occasionally they are ridden or used with the plow.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when [262] a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

23| *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

[462] All the work of caring for bees is done by men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.346] Sierra Tarascans

939 Both men had arrived with the highway construction crews; neither was making what he regarded as a satisfactory living and both hoped to leave.

Tile and brick are made in an old chapel and surrounding grounds, formerly part of the *curato* or curacy. Ten percent of the finished [427] tile or brick is given to the *municipio* as rent [632] for the buildings and for the right to dig clay on public lands.

A grayish clay is brought to the factory in sacks by mules. It is mixed with water and manure in a board-lined pit in the patio, where it is turned with spades and hoes and trodden with bare feet. The mixed clay is pressed into a trapezoidal wooden form laid flat on a table (fig. 5). The top is smoothed carefully with the wet hand. The clay is then slipped off the table onto a wooden form resembling half of a truncated cone, but with a handle. After a few moments, the clay, now in the shape of a tile, is slipped off on the floor. When fairly well dried, the tile is moved outdoors for further drying.

Bricks are made in the same fashion but with a different wooden form. Both brick and tile are fired in a wood-fired kiln in the patio. The wood is cut and hauled by the brickmakers and tilemakers. The time required to make a thousand brick or tile is about 9 days, as follows:

	Days
Getting and mixing clay	2
Cutting and hauling wood	1
Shaping 1,000 brick or tile	5
Loading kiln	1
Total	9

TEXTILES

285 *Mats.*—Most sleeping mats used in Cherán are imported, but at least three women make them locally. The mats are made of tules im- [438] ported on burros from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro. The mats are made in twilled technique, usually treating two tules as a single weaving element. The only tool observed was [412] a stone fist hatchet for severing tules.

294 *Hat making.*—About four men manufacture 439 men's hats of palm straw braid, although production does not meet the local demand. The activity involves complex trading arrangements, for palms do not grow in Tarascan terri-

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
[439] whence it is transported to the market at
Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
[438] done by women of the several small villages in
the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
the braid is an imported machine-made thread.
The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

Sewing machine
3 or 4 hat blocks
Wooden paddle for blocking
Smooth stone for blocking
Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in skeins)
Iron punch for ventilators
Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires about three bundles of braid. The braid is sewn together in a spiral beginning at the middle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or five-sixths of its width. One man, working steadily, can make about three hats a day, but no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
[463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupation. Some hat makers are also farmers, while one is also a "tailor." Another also operates a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and the cost of materials.

294 Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
386 first treated with glue, then successively coated with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and then a white varnish (*blanco de España*). None of these materials was further identified. The price obtained for hats varies with the thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing, and the finish applied.

286 *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
531 number of women ornament women's blouses
[467] or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-time occupation. Women's blouses are sometimes equipped with crocheted yolks. Crocheted bands are also placed on the short blouse sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

ground, and the lower edge is decorated with a band nearly 2 inches wide of cross-stitched designs in blue, strong pink, or red. These designs are made in Nahuatzen on long strips of *manta* and are purchased and sewn on the lower edge of the petticoat. The garment itself is tubular with a circumference of at least 6 yards. The top edge is folded back a foot or more, giving a double thickness of cloth about the waist. It is worn flat across the front and then skillfully gathered in knife pleats across the back, forming almost a ridge of material across the back. The pleats are not sewn but are laid in place each time the petticoat is donned. The top of the petticoat comes at least 6 inches above the waist. A woven belt of wool, usually in brilliant colors, about 2 inches wide and 2 or more yards long, is then placed very tightly about the waist to support the petticoat. Only training from childhood makes it possible to endure the tightness of the belt constantly.

If Tarascan dress is worn constantly, women frequently wear the petticoat without the skirt and apron while working. This is true even when running errands on the street. Any formal occasion, however, is thought to require the outer skirt and apron.

The outer skirt is of very dark-blue or black wool cloth, either of commercial origin, or hand-loomed materials from Paracho or Nahuatzen. Two widths of the latter are required. The skirt is tubular also, and the circumference should equal or exceed that of the petticoat, the limit being the purse of the family and the fortitude of the woman. Skirts over 30 yards in circumference are known; a 15-yard circumference is probably about the minimum for a really stylish garment. The top is folded in, and the surplus material is gathered, as in the petticoat, in knife pleats across the back. The top of the skirt is well above the waist and is held in place by several narrow woven belts of bright colors and designs. Despite their elaborate designs, these belts are wrapped one on top of the other. Although one would suffice, ideally one belt is superimposed on another until they reach a thickness of as much as 2 inches (pls. 1, upper and lower right; 2, upper right and left).

The pleats of the skirt must be prepared more carefully than those of the petticoat.

296 When the skirt is washed, two women fold in the pleats while the material is still damp. It is then laid flat to dry or clamped between two or three pairs of sticks which project beyond the sides of the skirt and are tied together. The same device is often used when the skirt is not being worn.

291 [854] When both skirt and petticoat are worn, a ridge of cloth extends across the middle of the back large enough for a small child to sit on, held by his mother's shawl. The thickness of cloth is also folded under when a woman sits on the ground, creating a seat quite as high as the low stools or chairs used by men. When walking, the skirt barely clears the ground and only glimpses may be caught of the colored band of the petticoat. In rainy weather or on muddy roads the skirt becomes wet and muddy. In the Lake Pátzcuaro region, not only is the skirt worn a little shorter, but it is often hitched up nearly to the knees by using one of the many belts to loop up part of the cloth at the back into a bustle-shaped bundle. In the same area, skirts are often of red plaid materials and the upper part is made of lighter materials, making the thickness of the folds at the waist much less.

The *rebozo*, or shawl, is an inseparable part of the costume. The everyday *rebozo*, and the only one owned by poor women, is a hand-loomed cotton fabric from Paracho or Nahuatzen. The color is dark blue with fine light-blue or white longitudinal stripes. The color is from indigo dye. A tasseled fringe some 4 inches in length finishes the ends.

292 [438] [435] For special occasions, women who can afford them wear a much finer gray or blue cotton *rebozo* from Tangancicuaro. Such *rebozos* may cost from 10 to 60 pesos or more, and the finer specimens can be drawn through a finger ring. An elaborate netted fringe 8 or 10 inches long is waxed to make it stiff. Some fine *rebozos* have a thin stripe, but the main effect is of a pepper-and-salt mixture.

29[illegible] The *rebozo* is sometimes worn over the head as a protection against rain, sunshine, or cold, or to hide the face partly if the wearer is embarrassed. At such times a fold may be drawn across the lower part of the face and caught in the teeth. Much of the time, however, the *rebozo* is worn as a shawl. Children [432] or small objects are slung on the back in a fold of the *rebozo*. (pl. 2, upper right and left.)

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

335 carpenter. Inasmuch as a detailed description of houses, house use, and house furnishings has already been published, no discussion is included here (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944).

322 As mentioned previously, one man in Cherán
402 manufactures chocolate beaters of simple type.
[824] They are made of madroño wood and are turned on a crude lathe (fig. 9). Power is provided by a bow with the string wrapped about the shaft of the lathe. The left hand is used to work the bow. The lathe rests on the ground, and both the bare feet and the right hand are used to manipulate the tools. The tools and technique are characteristic of Paracho, where a wide variety of turned wood products is made, including bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters, salt and pepper shakers, and chessmen.

322 Broom handles are made by one family, as
438 already mentioned. Pine logs are split into long staves, which are whittled into a roughly round shape with a knife. The entire product

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p.43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra [461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work [462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

[p.44a]

394 from him. Wicks are attached to nails in a wheellike frame and are then dipped repeatedly in liquid wax until the candles reach the desired thickness. The frame is suspended from the ceiling by a rope.

Paper flowers.—The women of one rather
532 large household make paper flowers for funerals and paper ornaments for weddings. It was impossible to establish satisfactory contacts to learn details.

Blacksmithing.—Cherán has one reputed
326 blacksmith. The individual concerned was never found at home, nor could any details concerning his techniques be learned.

Baking.—A baker of sweetened breads (*pan*
256 *dulces*) established himself in Cherán in 1943.
438 He baked daily in a regular local oven belonging to one of the wealthier storekeepers. The bread was sold with the aid of a boy, who carried it about town in a big basket hat such as is used in Mestizo towns in the neighborhood. Information on sales was refused, but probably they were between $10 and $12 a day at three breads for 5 centavos. Expenses each day were 1 *arroba* (25 pounds) of flour, $3.62; 1 kilo (2.2 pounds) of lard, $1.50; 3 kilos of sugar, $1.08; or a cash outlay of $6.20, plus the labor of baker and vendor. This does not take into account the firewood for heating the oven. Profits evidently at best hardly justify the secrecy shown.

Fireworks.—At least one man in Cherán
389 makes fireworks, both *cohetes* (explosive rockets) and *castillos* (set pieces built about a tall pole). The one man interviewed was born in Pichataro (which suggests he may be Mestizo in origin, although he apparently regards himself as a Tarascan) and learned the trade from his father.

Materials used in the manufacture of *cohetes* are niter, chlorate, sulfur, paper, agave fiber cord, and shakes. The worker interviewed makes *cohetes* only on order. He by no means supplies all the Cherán market.

Castillos likewise are made only on order. It is a general rule that *castillos* be bought outside the town, so the Cherán *cohetero* has never made a *castillo* for a Cherán fiesta. In 1940 he made *castillos* for San Felipe, Cheranástico, Ahuiran, and Pichataro.

Materials for *castillos* are necessarily quite

295 *Shoemaking.*—One master shoemaker with two apprentices makes shoes of locally produced leather. The apprentices get no pay, working from 6 months to a year in order to learn the trade. The master shoemaker learned in the same way. The techniques present no unusual points of interest.

Equipment includes a sewing machine, lasts, knives, and awls. The master shoemaker not only must know his trade, but also he must be able to judge hides and tanning and be a good buyer. Only a portion of the Cherán demand is supplied locally, and many consider the local shoes inferior to those from outside.

At least three men make *guaraches* to order on a part-time basis. *Guarache* making does not require a sewing machine, and the capital required is small. Most *guaraches* are imported. The type is described in connection with clothing.

Rope and twine.—One man makes kite strings
283 during the kite season in March. No interview could be secured with this man. Another man specializes in horsehair lead ropes and maguey fiber *riatas.* A fairly complex twisting device is used (fig. 10).

Hair brushes.—One family of four makes its
303 entire living by manufacturing brushes of *raiz de paja.* The family collects its own raw materials and dries the roots. Brushes are made by fastening bunches of root in metal rings of about 1-inch diameter, then trimming the ends off square.

Masks.—One family makes wooden masks to
532 order, charging about 2 pesos a piece. The workmanship is very poor and most masks are
[439] bought in other towns, especially Sevina and Cheranástico. The local masks are cheaper and much easier to buy, but most people would go to considerable trouble to get the out-of-town product.

SPECIALIZED SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

463 A number of occupations are characterized by the selling of services requiring specialized knowledge rather than the sale of goods transformed from raw material. Certain types of trading occupations, such as storekeeping, could logically be included here, but their consideration is deferred to the section on economics. Other skilled specialists dealing in purely

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

262 and as a daily food by all who can afford it,
252 which in Cherán would probably constitute a considerable majority of the population. It is often eaten with tamales of the type known as kurúndas, or with boiled chayote. Meat, if not made into čurípo, usually is boiled.[14]

Mole is a less common meat dish, probably derived from the Mestizos. It consists of a stew, preferably of turkey, but if this is not obtainable, of chicken, pork, or beef in descending order of frequency as well as preference. Pieces of the boiled meat are served in a sauce made in various ways, according to the availability of the ingredients and the knowledge of the cook. The sauce may include the following ingredients: Cloves, ginger, chocolate, cin-
[263] namon, ground toasted bread or tortillas, pumpkin seeds, garlic, onion, and chile of the type known as pasíya or *"chileancho."* The chiles are either fried in lard or dipped in hot water, ground with the other ingredients, and cooked in the meat broth. A thick, rich, and usually rather greasy sauce or gravy is the result. Mole is usually eaten on special occasions.

Fish are brought to Cherán either fresh,
● [438] broiled, or dried. Fresh fish come from Erongaricuaro on Lake Pátzcuaro only a limited part of the year, usually just after the rainy season in the fall. It is expensive compared with meat, but is much liked. During the rainy season, broiled fish are brought from Lake Chapala; in the dry season, from Erongaricuaro.

The fish are washed carefully in hot water before cooking. Fish is boiled in water with
[263] onion and *sílantro* (a pungent herb). Some people eat the intestines, removing only the bile. Seasoning with chile and tomato, ground together, is common; sometimes the broth is thickened with maize dough and sometimes onion is added. Fish may also be fried with eggs in lard, making a sort of fish hash.

Small dry fish (čarále), resembling small dried minnows, are on sale on market day throughout the year and also at many of the stores. They are toasted on the *comal* and eaten with chile and tortillas, especially for breakfast. They are also made into a broth with chile sauce.

[14] The majority of the recipes were collected by Silvia Rendón.

252 wheat flour or maize dough for thickening are
262 all passed through a colander and boiled.

AMARANTH FOODS

Čápata kurúnda.—This is a tamale made from amaranth, *bledos* or *alegría* (paári), which is cultivated both in gardens and in the fields. The seed is ground with brown sugar, with water added to make a dough. It is then wrapped in maize husks and cooked.

WHEAT FOODS

At harvest time the heads are toasted on the *comal* and eaten. A kind of oval wheat flour tortilla is made just after wheat harvest, especially in May and June.

Semítas, or round wheat breads.—These [438] are made primarily in the town, partly for sale [443] in Uruapan or Paracho on market days. The wheat is usually ground on the metate, but there is some variation in the coarseness of the flour. Semítas are made with yeast, shaped, and set on boards to rise. They are baked in the dome-shaped Spanish oven. If the baker does not [427] own an oven, she pays one bread for each board-ful she bakes.

Tri kamáta.—Wheat is dampened and ground to flour, with water added to make a dough. The dough is dissolved in water and cooked with an herb called epazóte (*chile cascabel*) and salt. It is strained before boiling. It is eaten alone without bread or tortillas.

Gordos.—Ground wheat is mixed with water and made into flat cakes. They are fried in deep pork fat, and are pretty greasy.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

Cabbage is the most common vegetable. It is always eaten cooked, usually with meat. Scarcely a house in Cherán does not have a small plot of cabbage. People who do not have their own, buy cabbage from house own-[443] ers who do. Cabbage is not sold in the market.

Chayotes constitute an important food during the season. Children munch on them all day. Cooked chayotes are sold on the streets at [435] 2 to 5 centavos, depending on size.

Chayote roots, which are dug up every few years, are boiled and eaten. They resemble a very good baked potato in flavor.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

438 Recognition of the interrelations of various economic activities in different regions is not
439 a new idea to the Tarascans. The economy of the region tends toward individual and local specialization with a consequent high development of trade. While undoubtedly the majority of the Tarascans are members of self-sufficient family groups so far as the bare necessities of existence are concerned, very large numbers are partly or wholly dependent upon employment, manufactures, or trade. Consequently, the internal economy of a Tarascan village not only is complex by primitive standards but also fits into tribal and extratribal patterns of even greater complexity. Quite apart from relations with the national economy of Mexico, and, through it, with international economy, large numbers of Tarascans have been traders and middlemen on a large scale. Not only have they carried local products from Tarascan village to Tarascan village, or outside the Tarascan area; they have bought goods in non-Tarascan areas to sell in other non-Tarascan areas. The study of Cherán economy, then, must be considered an incomplete picture of Tarascan economy just as the study of the economics of a single small town would inadequately describe the economics of the United States.

804 The following tabulation gives the units of measure used in Cherán.

CHERÁN UNITS OF MEASURE

Dry measure

1 *litro* = 1 liter, or 0.908 quart
1 *medida* = 5 *litros*
1 *fanega* = 20 *medidas*, or 100 *litros*, or 1 *hectalitro*

Weight[1]

1 *libra* = 1 pound
1 kilo = 2.2 libras
1 *arroba* = 11.5 kilos
1 *carga* = 161 kilos or 14 *arrobas*
1 burro load = ½ *carga* (approx.), 7 or 8 *arrobas*
1 mule load = 1 *carga* (approx.), 14 to 18 *arrobas*

Capacity

1 cuartillo = 1 pint or ½ liter
1 *litro* = 1 quart (approx.) or 1 liter
1 *decalitro* = 10 litros

Square measure

1 *hectarea* (hectare) = a piece of land about 10,000 sq. paces or 10,000 sq. m.

[1] The beam balance is widely used for determining weight.

243 The best wheatland produces about 2 *cargas*
433 of wheat per hectare; lands producing less than 1½ cargas are seldom cultivated. The wheat must then be threshed before sale, and this will cost $2.50 a *carga* in the mill and about the same if threshed by hand. The wheat will sell at from $22 to $30 a *carga*, depending upon the market ($26 in 1941).

243 The return in cash, then, is between $33
434 (1½ *cargas* at $22) and $60 (2 *cargas* at $30). The net profit in terms of our calculations would vary between minus $10.67 and plus $15.08. This figure does not count the labor of carrying the wheat to the house and thence to the mill, or winnowing; neither does it include the value of the straw (used as feed). Again, however, the Cherán farmer who received $33 for his year's work on a *hectare* would count himself relatively fortunate.

The return from wheat is less than the potential return from maize cultivation on average land. In general, however, wheat is usually grown on lands giving a poor maize yield. Moreover, the demand for wheat appears to be
243 more stable, and in days when transport was
434 all on pack animals the greater value of wheat
438 per volume and weight made it much more
[491] attractive as an export crop. The opening of the highway may alter the situation, as it makes bulk transportation of maize feasible. On the other hand, the highway has opened up new markets for wheat. Trucks from the large
[439] flour mill at Morelia now come to buy wheat in Cherán and even penetrate to mountain villages such as Pichataro. Consequently, a much wider market is available than the regional mills that could be reached in a day or a little more with burros. Of course, similar expansion of markets is available to maize growers and producers of other products. It is still too early to predict the effects of improved communications on the agriculture of Cherán, but some additional considerations are discussed in connection with trade.

243 Another way of disposing of wheat is to sell
256 it at a flour mill in a Mestizo town or convert
434 the wheat into flour and sell the flour. The
438 price paid at flour mills is about $4 a *carga* above the Cherán price. Mills charge an 18 percent discount if the farmer chooses to have his wheat milled. This covers waste, bad

[p. 689]

256 243 434 438 wheat, and the milling charge. A *carga* produces about 14 *arrobas*, or about 250 pounds of flour, of which the mill takes 2½ *arrobas*, or 62½ pounds. The farmer receives 187½ pounds of flour. Either of these procedures involves the labor of transporting wheat to the mill and, in case the farmer has no burros, the rent of pack animals or trucking charges. Mills are at Jacona (regarded as the best), Purépero, Tanátaro, and Carapan.

Yet another way of disposing of wheat is to grind it at home or in a *nixtamal* mill and bake bread for sale in the market towns and at fiestas. Only relatively small quantities are used in this way.

245 438 434 One agricultural activity for which few data were obtained is fruit growing. No information was secured on yields of trees or on labor. The main labor cost is harvesting, usually done by the family at a time when there is little other agricultural activity. Fruit may be carried to markets, or it may be sold to traders.

434 24 511 Another view of farming activity may be gained by examining the income of individual farmers. These data are probably somewhat unreliable, for, as previously indicated, there is a tendency to minimize wealth and income. Table 2 summarizes the available information.

Case 1 is a school teacher with a small family who rents his land. Probably his share in good years supplies most of his family requirements of maize. Case 2 is a storekeeper who also rents his land. In years when his land lies fallow, he must have to buy a little

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

439 rero or even from the Pacific Ocean. Even men who are not regular traders will go on local market. Finally, it should be noted that individuals often visit markets, especially those in Paracho or during fiestas at nearby towns, [494] and make purchases of needed goods. Especially since the highway has brought bus service to the town, for important purchases a man may even go to Uruapan. It is not uncommon for well-to-do men, for example, to have garments made to order by the tailors in Uruapan.

It is impossible to compile from present data a complete list of the products imported into Cherán. The list extends from chile and beans to horses and sewing machines. Many articles are available only on special occasions. For example, the almost universally used type of water jar in Cherán is made only in Patamban, and is offered for sale only on the occasion of the fiesta of the patron saint in October. Householders must anticipate their yearly needs of these fragile (but quite long-lived) articles at this time; otherwise they are forced to attend a fiesta in some other town and pick up a different plain style of jar made in Uruapan or La Cañada.

Nearly all goods sold in the stores are im- 438 ported (except occasional local products such as clothing). A considerable list of these goods is given in the discussion of price (p. 88). Tarascan products imported include fish and tules from the Lake area; hat braid of palm straw, chairs, tables, beds, and various wooden objects from Paracho; pottery from Santa Fe, Quiroga, Patamban, La Cañada, and the "hot country," or *tierra caliente* (the last is non-Tarascan); axes from Tingambato; knives, machetes, plow points, and jewelry from Nahuatzen; oils, garlic, spices, and vegetables from Zacapu and the Lake region; *rebozos* and cloth from Paracho, Nahuatzen, and elsewhere; pigs from La Cañada; beans from the Lake region; chiles from various places; and a variety of fruits. The latter include bananas, coconuts (from non-Tarascan sources), sweet and sour lemons, oranges, guavas, mameys, plums, mangoes, watermelons, cantaloups, avocados, zapotes of all sorts, and cherimoyas.

439 From non-Tarascan sources, but still outside the more conventional commercial channels, are

[p.806]

346 443 days do the lines extend the full length of the plaza. The Monday morning market is much smaller.

TABLE 3.—*Products sold in the Cherán market, 1940*

443 438

Product	Number of vendors selling product on Sept. 7	Product sold on—	
		Nov. 9	October 6 (fiesta)
Agua fresca (sweet water)			×
Anillos (rings)			×
Ajo (garlic)		×	
Aretes (earrings)			×
Atole			×
Ayates (carrying nets)			×
Bateas (wooden bowls)			×
Cacahuates (peanuts)		×	
Cabetes (jellies)			×
Calabaso cocido (cooked squash)			×
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)		×	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	5		×
Canastas (flat baskets)			×
Carne seco (dried meat)			×
Cebollas (onions)	4	×	×
Changungas			×
Chayotes cocidos (cooked chayote)		×	
Cherimoya		×	
Chiles	13	[1]×	×
Chiquihuites (baskets)		×	
Cocos (coconuts)			×
Col (cabbage)		×	
Cucharas (spoons)			×
Cundas (harvest baskets)		×	
Dulces (sweets)		×	×
Dedales (thimbles)			×
Dardenistas		×	
Fajas (sashes)			×
Frijoles (beans)	1	×	×
Guayabas (guavas)			×
Habas cocidos (cooked broadbeans)		×	
Helotes cocidos (cooked green corn)		×	
Higos (figs)			×
Jicamas		×	×
Jitomates (tomatoes)			×
Juguetes (playthings)			×
Leña (firewood)	1		
Lenteja (lentils)	1		
Limas (sweet lemons)	1		×
Loza de Oaxaca (pottery from Oaxaca)			×
Loza (pottery)	2		×
Maíce			×
Manzanas (apples)	3	×	×
Mecates (ropes)			×
Morales (bags)			×
Muñecas (dolls)			×
Naranjas (oranges)		×	
Nieve (ice cream)			×
Pan, blanco y moreno (bread, white and dark)		×	×
Pan dulce (sweet bread)			×
Pan de horno (cookies)		×	
Pastura (fodder)		×	
Peras (pears)	2		×
Pescado (fish, several kinds)[2]	3	[1]×	×
Petates (mats)		×	×
Platanos (bananas)		×	×
Pitzeknas[3]		×	
Papas (potatoes)	1		
Queso (cheese)	1		×
Relicoco (shawls)			×
Religios (crosses, medals, etc.)			×
Ropa hechó (clothing)			×
Sanhorias (carrots)		×	
Silantro			×
Serapes (blankets)			×
Sombreros (hats)			×
Tascales (baskets for tortillas)		×	
Tela (cloth)			×
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	2	×	×
Tunos (prickly pears)		×	
Velas (candles)			×
Vidrio (glass)			×
Yerbas (herbs)			×
Zapatos (shoes)			×

[1] Black and red chile from Querendaro; green chile, large and small; red chile, large and small; chile pasilla ancha; chile guajillo; chile mirasol; chile verde ẽirápai.

[2] *Charo* (kuíʃupo—small, dried, from Pátzcuaro; turuẽi—large, fresh, from Pátzcuaro).

[3] Small, black fruit like green tomato in taste.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

On the occasion of a fiesta, the market occupies the entire plaza and overflows onto side streets. The variety and quantity of goods on such occasions exceed that at the regular Paracho market. Table 3 shows this clearly in the market held for October 6, 1940, the fiesta of the patron saint. Only two weekly markets were checked in any detail, as the fluctuations in the market simply reflect those occurring at Paracho the following day. Table 3 gives a list of the articles on sale in Cherán on three different dates, and for September 7 the number of vendors of each article is given.

TABLE 4.—*Place of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1940*

Origin of vendor[1]	Article	Origin of article
Chapala	Fish	Chapala.
Cherán	Pottery	Huancito.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Pottery	Huancito.
Cherán (4)	Wood	Cherán.
Cherán	Apples	Do.
Do	Apples	Pichataro.
Do	Pears	Cherán.
Do	Cheese	Tierra caliente.
Pátzcuaro	Green chile Onions	Pátzcuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Uricho.
Uricho (2)	Yellow chile	Do.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, chile Tomatoes	Do. Pátzcuaro.
Uricho	Yellow chile Tomatoes	Uricho.
Pátzcuaro	Onions, cabbage	Pátzcuaro.
Do	Onions, cabbage, tomatoes	Do.
Uricho	Chile, onions, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Pátzcuaro	Potatoes, beans, tomatoes	Pátzcuaro.
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes (purple)	Zipiajo.
Villa Jimenez	Beans	Villa Jimenez.
Zunaparío	Chile	Zunaparío.
Cherán	Bread, peaches	Cherán.
Caraneo	Chile	San Gabriel, Jalisco.
San Francisco	Chile, tomatoes	San Francisco.
Zacapu	Onions, tomatoes	Zacapu.
Do	Tomatoes	Do.
Cherán	Tomatoes	Cherán (?).
Pandicuaro	Sweetpotatoes	Pandicuaro.
Cherán	Chile	Cherán (?).
Etucuaro	Lentils	Etucuaro.
El Tigre	Chile	El Tigre.
Zacapu	Tomatoes	Zacapu.
Lagunga	Sweetpotatoes	Purépero.
Pandicuaro (2)	do	Zacapu.
Chucandiro	do	Zacapu (San Simon).
San Pedro Caro	Dried fish	Hacienda de la Luz.
Carapan	Lemon	Carapan.
Chapala	Cooked dried fish	Chapala.

[1] Numbers in parentheses indicate number of vendors if more than one.

Tables 4 and 5 show the places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Cherán and at Paracho in September, 1940, and table 6 gives the products and number of vendors at the Paracho market on various dates in 1940.

About 70 to 80 percent of the vendors in the Paracho market on September 1 (table 5) were

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p.816]

443
438

TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*

Product	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Agua fresca (sweet water)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Aguacates (avocados)	Cañada	(1)	1	1
Anillos (rings)	Patamban	Paracho	1	1
Aretes (earrings)	Nahuatsen	do	1	1
Bagas (burden ropes)	Paracho	do	2	2
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Caldo (broth)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	La Azarca	La Azarca	1	6
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Purépero	Purépero	2	
		Paracho	2	
Cebollos (onions)	Paracho	do	2	2
Cerezas (cherries)	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	2
Cestas (baskets)	Pandicuaro	Zacapu	2	2
Chabacanos (apricots)	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	1
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Changungas	Tierra caliente	Uruapan	1	1
Chiles (peppers)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	9
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Pátzcuaro (?)	Pátzcuaro	3	
Col (cabbage)[1]				
Coliflor (cauliflower)[1]				
Dulces (candy)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Duraznos (peaches)	Pichataro	do	1	20
	Cherán	Cherán	6	
	Pichataro	Pichataro	8	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	2	
	Cheranástico	Cheranástico	2	
	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
Fibra de palmas (palm leaves)	Tierra caliente (1 woman, maybe all, carried it up)	Cherán	2	7
		Paracho	1	
		Pátzcuaro	1	
		Barsi	3	
Frijoles (beans)	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	8
	San Gerónimo	San Gerónimo	2	
	Carapan	Carapan	2	
	Tirindiro	Tirindiro	1	
	Cañada	Cañada	1	
	Tangancicuaro	Tangancicuaro	1	
Guitarras (guitars)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Habas (pulse or broadbeans)	Cañada	Cañada	2	3
		Carapan	1	
Helotes (cooked green corn)	Paracho	Paracho	1	3
	Cheranastico	Cheranástico	1	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
Higos (figs)	Cañada	Paracho	1	2
		Cañada	1	
Huaraches (woven sandals)	Purépero	Purépero	1	1
Jicamas (root)	(1)	Paracho	1	1
Lechuga (lettuce)[1]				
Limas (sweet lemons)	Chilchota	Chilchota	3	3
Limonas (lemons)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	5
	Chilchota (?)	Chilchota	3	
	Tierra caliente	Guanajuato	1	
	Guanajuato	Purépero	1	
	Huanuito	Huanuito	1	
Ollas (pottery)	Patamban	Patamban	3	9
	do	Nurió	1	
	Quiroga	Zacapu	1	
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	
	Quirega	Tzintzuntzan	1	
Manta	Nahuatsen	Nahuatsen	1	1
Mandils (aprons)	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Manzanas (apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	2	18
	do	Pichataro	13	
	Cherán	Cherán	1	
	Pichataro	do	1	
	Kinseo	Kinseo	1	
Manzanas-chatas (crab apples)	Pichataro	Paracho	1	4
	Uruapan	Uruapan	3	
Mostacillos (?) (beads)	Guadalajara	do	1	1
Muebles (furniture)	Paracho	do	2	2
	(1)	Paracho	1	5
Naranjas (oranges)	Uruapan	Uruapan	1	
	Limon	Limon (?)	1	
	Chilchota	Chilchota	2	
Nueces (nuts)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
	Pichataro	Pichataro	1	
Pan (bread)	Tanaco	Tanaco	2	6
Pan dulce	Cherán	Cherán	4	
Papas (patatas) (potatoes)	Nahuatsen	Paracho		1

[1] No data.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p.82a]

443
438

TABLE 5.—*Places of origin of products and vendors in the market at Paracho, Sept. 1, 1940*—Continued

Products	Origin of product	Vendor		
		Place of origin	Number from each place	Total number selling product
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	Arantepacua	Arantepacua	3	3
Peras (pears)	Pichátaro	do	4	18
	Cherán	Cherán	4	
	Pichátaro	Pichátaro	9	
Pescado seco (dried fish)[1]	do	Cherán	1	
Plátanos (bananas)	Tierra caliente	Paracho	1	5
Queso (cheese)[1]		Uruapan	4	
Rebosos	Paracho	Paracho	4	4
Serapes	do	do	2	2
Sigras (large, lemonlike citrus fruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Silantro seeds	Cañada	Cañada	1	2
	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Sombreros (flat-top, white hats)	Paracho	Paracho	1	1
Tomates (husk tomatoes)	Pátzcuaro	Pátzcuaro	1	10
	Paracho (?)	Paracho	5	
	Nahuatzen (?)	do	1	
	Cherán (?)	Cherán	1	
	Morelia (?)	Paracho	1	
	Cherán (?)	do	1	
Toronja (grapefruit)	Chilchota	Chilchota		2
Tunas (prickly pears)	Tanaco	Tanaco	3	4
	Purépero	Purépero	1	
Uakinikin (a long nut)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	1
Uikumu (yellow fruit?)	Los Reyes	Paracho	1	2
	Cimotlan	Cimotlan	1	
Tela (cloth)	Paracho	Paracho	2	2
Violin	do	do	1	1
Yerbas (herbs)	Cherán	Cherán	1	2
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	Chilchota	Chilchota	1	
Zapatos (shoes, orange; also white)	Paracho (?)	Paracho	1	1

[1] No data.

interviewed. The number of vendors and the articles sold, by classes, are as follows:

Articles:	*Number of vendors*
Fruits	52
Vegetables	26
Prepared food (including bread)	12
Wearing apparel	21
Baskets and pottery	15
Furniture	2
Ornaments and musical instruments	3
Palm fiber for hats	7
Total	138

Most vendors not interviewed were engaged in the sale of fruits or vegetables, mostly vegetables.

Another example of an unimportant market is given by Rendón for San Juan Parangaricutiro. The main articles sold were small quantities of tomatoes, chile, jicamas, onions, cabbage, silantro, garlic, limes, oranges, guavas, cherimoyas, peanuts, and sugarcane. Two persons sold candies from Zamora, two booths sold sweetpotatoes, one each sold pottery and shoes,

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
[p.82b]

443
438

TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Agua fresca (sweet water)	1	4	2	1		
Aguas gaseosas (pop)		3	8	3		1
Aje (pigment)					2	
Ajo (garlic)						6
Aguacates (avocados)	1			1		
Anillos (rings)	1					
Aretes; collares (earrings; necklaces)	1	1				3
Atole (maize gruel)					2	2
Ayates (nets)				2	2	2
Bagas (burden ropes)	2					
Bates para lavar ropa (washtray)				1		
Bateas (wooden bowls)		1	1			
Bordada (strip of embroidery)	1				2	
Borrega (mutton)		3		3		
Cacahuates (peanuts)		4	5		9	2
Cal (lime)					2	
Caldo (broth)	1					
Calabacitos (small squash)					3	
Calabazo cocido (cooked squash)		4	5	14	12	1
Calses (cakes)					1	
Camas (beds)	1			1	7	
Camotes (sweetpotatoes)	4	8		2		1
Camotes cocidos (cooked sweetpotatoes)	2	2				
Caña (sugarcane)			3	1		
Canastas (flat baskets)				1		1
Carne de puerco cocido (cooked pork)		1	1	2		3
Carne seco (dried beef)		1		6	12	6
Cebollos (onions)	2	15	11	12	18	15
Cerezas (cherries)	2		1	5	1	
Cerezas secas (dried cherries)			1		2	1
Cestas (baskets)	2	3	1	4		
Chabacanos (apricots)	1					
Chalecos bordados (embroidered vests)	1					
Changungas (a fruit)	1					
Chayotes			3	1	7	
Chayotes cocido (cooked chayotes)		3		4		
Cherimoyas (a fruit)					4	
Chicahuites (harvest baskets)				1	3	
Chicharos (peas)		4	3	4		
Chicharos cocidos (cooked peas)				1		
Chiles (peppers)	9	53	32	15		
Chiles, large wide, red				7		
Chiles, large long, red				15		
Chiles, small, red				20		21
Chiles, verdes (green)				8	25	18
Chile, negros (black)				2	5	7
Cintas (belts)						1
Ciruelas (plums)		2				
Cocos (coconuts)				3	1	
Col (cabbage)		14	10	2	6	7
Coliflor (cauliflower)		1			2	
Corbatas (neckties)			1			
Cucharas (spoons)		1		2	1	
Cracklings					1	
Custard						1
Dibujos y arts, flores			1			
Doughnuts				1		
Dulces (candy)	1	6	4	7	4	2
Dulces de membrillos (fruit paste)		1				
Duranos (peaches)	20	22	1	3		
Escobas de palmas (brushes of palm)	1					
Escobas de paja verde (brushes of green straw)						1
Espinaca (spinach)			1			
Fajas (sashes)		2	2	2	1	3
Fibra de palma (palm leaves for hats)	7	5		1	11	
Floreras (flowerpots)						1
Flores (flowers)					2	
Flores de papel (paper flowers)						2
Frijoles (beans)	8	13		6	24	
Gorditos (fried maize cakes)					1	
Granadas (pomegranates)		6		31	30	2
Guavas					1	2
Guitarras (guitars)	1					
Habas (broadbeans)	3	1		1	4	
Habas verdes (green broadbeans)					1	
Helotes (green corn on cob)	3	1	4	6	2	
Higos (figs)	2					
Hoja de betabel (chard)		2				
Hoja de limones (lemon leaves)		2				
Hoja de naranja (orange leaves)		1		2		
Huaraches (woven sandals)	1	1	4	1		
Ixtle (maguey halters)		11				
Jalatina (jelly)				1		
Jicamas (a turniplike root)	5			3	6	
Jitomates (tomatoes)					6	
Juegos de naipes (card games)				1		
Juguetes (playthings, e.g. dolls)		5	2		2	

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p.83a]

Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

443
438

TABLE 6.—*Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940*—Continued

Product	Number of vendors on—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20[1]	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Juguetes de losa (pottery figurines)		3	8	13	1	
Lana (wool)					1	
Lechuga (lettuce)		1				
Limas y limones (lemons and limes)	8	17	7	16	13	7
Loquats				1		
Losa (pottery)	9	1		64	5	2
Macate (maguey fiber string)			1			
Mandils (aprons)	4					
Mantas (blankets)	1					
Manzanas (apples)	22	37	5	16	2	
Maize (corn)	6		1		2	
Macetas (flowerpots)					1	
Madroño berries						1
Mamey (a fruit)					1	
Mascaras (masks)		2	1			
Maza (maize dough)		1				
Mazorca (maize ears)				1		
Medias (stockings)						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and notions)		1	19	4	8	1
Molineros (chocolate beaters)				1		
Morales (bags)				1		
Mostacillos (beads)	1					
Muebles (furniture)	2					
Naranjas (oranges)	5	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream)		1	1	1	2	2
Nueces (nuts)	3					
Orange plum				1		
Palma tejida (hat braid)[2]					1	
Pan (bread)	6	26	28	29	28	17
Pan de huevo (cake)						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey)			10			
Pan dulce (cookies)				1	1	
Papas (potatoes)	1	8	6	2	5	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats)	3					
Peluqueros (barbers)				6		
Peras (pears)	18	14				
Pescado (fish)		12	5	1	13	6
Petates (mats)		1		2	4	1
Platanos (bananas)	5	4	1	19	3	2
Plumas (pens)				3		
Pulque					1	
Queso (cheese)	1	17	9	3	8	2
Rebozos (shawls)	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets)		1				
Serapes (blankets)	2	4	2	1	7	8
Servietas (napkins)					1	
Sigras (a fruit)	1					
Silantro semilla (seed for flavoring)	2	5	1	4	4	
Sillas (chairs)				3		
Sombreros (hats)	1	2	1	1	2	2
Sopladores (fire fans)		1				
Sweaters						1
Tamales		19		23		1
Tejocotes (wild crab apples)	5	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing)	2			2		2
Tela de lana (wool yardage)			7			
Tesquisquite		1		2		10
Tomates (small husk tomatoes)	10	36	26	19	8	
Toronja (grapefruit)	2					
Tortillas					5	3
Tortilla baskets					3	1
Tunas (prickly pears)	4		3		4	1
Uskinikin (nut)	1					
Violina (violin)	1					
Velas (candles)			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves)	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs)	1				1	
Yellowfruit		1		1		
Yams			1			
Zanhorias (carrots)		1	2			1
Zapatos (shoes)	1	3	8	3	9	7

[1] Fiesta of Santa Ursula.

[2] An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurúndas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

438 The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market
443 on Sunday which is not notably different from
a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as
462 this is the market town for La Cañada, prob-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.836]

438 ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans. Rendón, who collected the data, observes that 443 there is a fairly clear sex division in market 462 activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—*Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota*

443 438

Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal)	8	0
Green tomatoes	2	5
Ripe tomatoes	6	0
Green chile	0	3
Dry chile	7	7
Cabbage	3	4
Cooked chayote	8	6
Cooked chayote root	10	8
Cooked squash	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato	3	0
Dried meat	1	0
Greens	0	2
Limes and oranges	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit	6	8
Peanuts	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite	1	1
Sweets	2	3
Pulque	0	6
Sweet tamales	12	10
Flour tamales	6	4
Regular tamales (kurúndas)	12	6
Medicinal herbs	1	2
Soaproot	1	1
Salt and lime	4	4
Pitch pine	2	0
Pottery	8	11
Total	130	123

CONSUMPTION

511 The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
Mestizo

366
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443

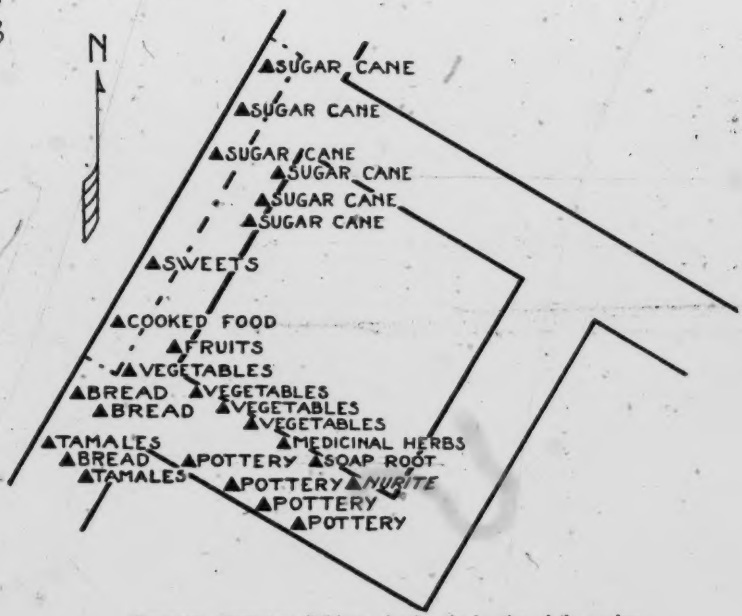

FIGURE 11.—Market at Chilchota, showing the location of the vendors.

[p. 84c]

796 saint's image. At each stop the priest prayed and there was an alms collection. A band played intermittently nearby, and while the procession moved it was accompanied by two *chirimías* and a drum. The dancers formed part of the procession, wearing heavy elaborate crowns.

On August 10, part of the fiesta was observed at San Lorenzo. There were four moros, the last one to enter the large atrium of the church being preceded by two *chirimía* players and a drum. After entering the atrium, the band played, and the horse of one moro, a beautiful animal, danced to the music. Groups of men carried *cuelgas* to the church. These were long ropes wrapped about with plants and hung with fruits and bread. Accompanying the *cuelgas* were women with cornstalks and elaborate paper decorations. At the church a minor crisis developed when one of the two priests, a young man, tried to prevent some of the men from entering because they were obviously very [793] drunk. "God does not wish it, the Saint does not wish it, and I do not wish it," he exclaimed, quite unconscious apparently of the implications of the order of his statement. The groups barred from the church waited patiently outside until the Mass began and then went quietly in.

After Mass, the images of the patron saint, San Lorenzo, the Virgin, and Christ were brought from the church, decorated elaborately with the *cuelgas* and the cornstalks and paper ornaments. The moro dancers dismounted and paid their respects to the saints one at a time. Then they danced in pairs before the images, mostly walking back and forth in complex figures between the images and the big stone cross and clashing their spurs. Women threw handfuls of small candies over the dancers as they passed, and they shortly were wading thigh deep in small children scrambling for the candies.

The fiesta at Ahuíran, in September, was visited by many Cherán residents. Quantities [272] of *atole de caña*, atole made with the juice from the stalks of green corn, is served. The 438 principal item in the market is pottery, and it 323 is believed in Cherán that pottery purchased in the market at Ahuíran does not break easily. It should be noted that Ahuíran does not make

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.1316] Sierra Tarascans

438 pottery and the goods on sale are made at the
323 same pottery-making villages that supply the other markets.

The fiesta at Cheranástico for the Assump-
796 tion of the Virgin is considered a large and important one. Services are held in the church at Cherán on this day, and the date is also observed as a fast day by many Mestizos, in Uruapan, for example.

At Capacuaro the patron saint is San Mateo. Small jars of atole are offered for sale and are purchased, together with the containers, as offerings to the saint. At Capacuaro it is said
[314] that copal smoke is the food of God and that when He eats He smells the smoke. For this reason, it is said, the priests wave the censers when copal is burning.

The only town visited where no fiestas or
796 *moyordomías* are celebrated is Urupichio. All
184 the fiestas in this town had formerly been given by *cargueros* or *mayordomos*. People took their duties so seriously that many sold their lands in order to give the *mayordomías* properly. As a result, a few wealthy people came to own all the land. When the revolution came, the town became a supporter of Zapata and later an agrarian town. After the revolution the lands were seized and divided up and the *mayordomías* and fiestas were abolished. The church, which was burned down during the revolution along with the rest of the village, has never been rebuilt. Instead of a religious
527 fiesta, Independence Day, September 16, is celebrated with bands and a *castillo*. The town is planning to have its own band. What the effects of this will be cannot be determined, but if the band is hired out to play at fiestas in other towns it may serve as the entering wedge for reviving the fiestas.

Data on the fiestas of a Mestizo town, Chilchota, are given in Appendix 2. They afford interesting comparative material.

MAYORDOMÍA ORGANIZATION AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS

796 Approximately 13 saints exist in Cherán
776 which belong to groups only indirectly or not at all connected with the church. Each of these saints is in charge of an individual known as a *carguero* or *mayordomo* during a year or more and is associated with special procedures

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.13a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 621 [565] fitted into the class system of colonial Mexico.

Every Indian community was also a cultural unit and had a large degree of cultural distinctiveness. These cultures, however, were also strongly influenced by national, economic, governmental and religious institutions. They are characterized as folk or local peasant cultures.

175 621 423 The other main type of social unit in rural Mexico was the privately owned estate, in Spanish, *hacienda*. Haciendas can be included in Sorokin's Type 5 of rural communities: "a latifundian, manorial, or large estate type of rural agregate (privately owned)."[6] The conflict between these two types of social units, pueblo and hacienda, is the essence of the history of rural Mexico. During this conflict the village communities receded in the face of the growing haciendas, while within the villages the trend was toward individualization of landownership and toward becoming Sorokin's Type 3, *i. e.* "a rural aggregate of individual farmer-owners."[7]

* * *

175 621 423 The colonial village community was the primary economic unit, to some extent self-sufficient but never completely so. In a society based on agriculture, it was the main landowning unit. Every village community had the following kinds of communal land: *fundo legal*, the site on which the town was built; *ejido*, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); *tierras de repartimiento*, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally *propios*, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out. The produce of these was kept as a community fund (*caja de comunidad*) and used to defray municipal expenses.[8] Important among these expenses are those related to the organization of the cult and the support of the Church.[9]

175 [241] [463] Agriculture was the economic basis of most of these communities. Many household crafts were also of great importance. In some industries, products were consumed in the household; in others, they were traded over certain areas. There was much town specialization in those crafts which involved intense commerce.

[438]

175 556 For various reasons differences in wealth came to exist within the community: The Indian nobility kept some of their private

6. *Ibid.*, 563.
7. *Ibid.*, 562.
8. Mendieta y Núñez, 1934, 53-70; Haring, 1947, 174-8.
9. Chávez Orozco, 1934, *passim*; 1943, Chapter 2.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 169] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 ance of native speech in those areas, a pro-
464 cess which began in the late eighteenth
177 century and was greatly accelerated after Independence.

In central Michoacan, the Sierra and the
175 Lake areas (except the southern shore),
438 the land-holding villages predominated and were devoted mainly to agriculture and handicrafts.[24]

175 During the Profirio Díaz period, the ap-
668 plication of the Reforma Laws abolishing
423 communal property, and the economic development of the country brought about further growth of the haciendas.

In Tzintzuntzan, the formerly communal lands were distributed among the villagers, and individual titles had been given by 1885. Between 1885 and 1902, a large part of the best agricultural land and most of the communal, non-agricultural lands were sold, legally or otherwise, to outsiders who, with these lands, established haciendas.[25]

[311] In the swamp of Zacapu, a company was formed at the end of the century in order to reclaim swamp land. Thus, several haciendas were established in a swamp, which had been the property of the neighboring Indian towns. At least one of these haciendas seems to have managed to acquire further land from the village of Tarejero.[26]

In many towns, however, the Indians re-
175 sisted the operation of the Reforma laws
423 during most of the nineteenth century.

In 1902, the state legislature passed a law
648 regarding the distribution of the property
656 of extinct Indian communities (*Ley y reglamento sobre reparto de bienes de las extinguidas communidades indígenas*, 18 de junio y 4 de julio 1902). It provided that the formerly communal land of the Indians could not be sold or mortgaged; that in order to distribute the land every town should appoint two representatives; that in case the state government did not approve of the town's choice of representatives it should appoint attorneys (*apoderados*); that the towns should entrust their land titles to the authorities; and that if the towns did not appoint representatives after a certain period of time the government would name the attorneys. In most cases it was the government which appointed the attorneys.

This procedure apparently was intended to keep the lands from being sold to non-Indians, but although the land of the villages was not sold outright, it was leased

24. West, 1948, 11-18.
25. Foster, 1948, 171-2.
26. Simpson, 1937, 464-6.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 311 621 years. Therefore, men who own land in only one 'plain' plant only every other year. Consequently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

[609] Given this system of cultivation, the resistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

412 621 438 433 This question of disintegrative versus conservative tendencies within the villages can also be discussed in relation to a subsistence economy or a market economy. No doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

439 433 The connection of any Tarascan village economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.

423 435 [185] Land is the most desired form of property and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

433 241 An analysis of agricultural economics shows that farming on poor land in Cherán (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 30.
49. Beals, 1946, 58-9; Foster, 1948, 145-6, 289-90.
50. Foster, 1946, 76-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 186] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian prob-
464 lem of Mexico from the point of view of Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54]
[167] and the enormous response of labor during the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

438 Handicrafts are very important to the economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field. Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 327.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 66.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.193] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
[534] chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[439] greatly increased in importance. The town
[323] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pottery has recently been selling to Mexico City and even United States curio shops.[62]

178 The declining crafts are among those
463 producing basic necessities, while the growing ones are luxury crafts depending in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

423 No matter how important handicrafts
578 may be for the economy of a given village, land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
● [438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of
423 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mexican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 63.
63. *Ibid.*, 56-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 266] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

621 175 The particular form which the Indian communities took among the Tarascans may have been influenced by Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacan from 1538 to 1565, who seems to have followed in part the ideas of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[16] He [743] tried to organize every Indian town around a so-called *hospital*. These were not only to take care of the sick but to organize the whole economic, social and religious life of the community. In Quiroga's ordinances, hospital is really the same thing as Indian community. Members of the hospital held [423] all land in common. Every member was assigned a plot for his own use and also worked in the communal lands, the produce equally distributed among the commoners or devoted to the support of the needy (widows, orphans, the sick and incapacitated). Surplus produce was sold and the amount thus earned kept in a box under the care of three officers of the hospital who rendered an account every year. The heads of families democratically elected the officers of the hospital. Every hos- [794] pital had as its patron the Virgin of the Conception, and a sodality *(cofradía)* with funds of its own attended to her cult. Many other religious activities were also organized by the hospital. Bishop Quiroga has ● [438] also been credited with the introduction of new handicrafts in different towns, each specializing in a different activity.[17] The extent to which Bishop Quiroga succeeded in putting his ordinances into practice and the outcome of the hospitales deserve careful investigation.

Quiroga was not the only one to establish hospitales in Indian towns. Both Franciscan and Augustinian Friars founded a number of them, although Michoacan was the region of New Spain where they were of greater extent and importance. The first hospitales in Michoacan have been attributed to a Franciscan, Juan de San Miguel, and the primacy of Quiroga has been disputed.[18] The greater functions of the hospitales in organizing the whole life of the village seem to be peculiar to Quiroga's plans and this is the subject which requires more investigation. The basic traits of Quiroga's hospitales, however, are the same as those of other Indian villages in the rest of colonial Mexico: communal ownership of land; town specialization in trades; more or less democratic organization of the town government and cult; and

16. Zavala, 1937.
17. Zavala, 1937; León, 1908, 201-3, who quotes Moreno, a biographer of Quiroga.
18. Ricard, 1933, 186-194.

3:Beals, Carrasco & McCorkle E-5 (1940-1942) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

BUILDING MATERIALS
AND THEIR SOURCES

313 by a chalk line, and then placed on a platform of
412 poles, sometimes with a pit underneath.[2]

Shakes, *tejamanil*, are made from both pine and fir. Fir shakes are preferred as they last longer despite breaking more easily. Trees used to make *tejamanil* must be straight-grained. The trunk is cut in sections with saw or ax; each section is then split lengthwise with wedges to produce a number of pieces, usually 8, each 4 fingers wide at the bark edge. These pieces are then split into 16 shakes. A special machete is used to start the split, which is then completed with a thin metal or wooden tool.

313 Several types of shakes are made. In Angahuan, a shake 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) long and 7 inches
438 wide is made to sell in Zamora and is called Zamorano. One shake 4 *cuartas* (32 in.) in length by 4 inches in width, called "little shake" (tasámbani sapírati), is sold in Uruapan, while one called "long shake" (tasámbani iórati), 6 *cuartas* (48 in.) by 1 *quarta* (8 in.), is used in the town itself. Cherán, on the other hand, uses a shake called "thick shake" (tasámani tiápiti), 5 *cuartas* (40 in.) in length. This is the size used in most Tarascan towns. Shakes are occasionally sold by the hundred, but the most common unit is a bundle of 400 (irépita).

Master carpenters may use an elaborate variety
412 of modern tools for woodworking and house building. However, everything may be done in woodworking with ax, adze, saw, drill, chisel, and wooden wedges, and many persons work only with these tools.

ADOBE BRICKS

339 Adobe bricks are usually made from suitable earth near the village by specialists. The earth is mixed with manure and water to the proper consistency, then shaped in wooden forms. Two sizes of brick are made, one 3 spans long, one 2½ spans long. Adobes are laid by a mason in a mortar of adobe and manure. Because of the moist
333 climate, adobe walls always rest on a foundation of stone masonry laid in adobe mortar; the foundation may extend as much as half a meter (20 in.) below the ground surface.

[2] A fuller description of lumbering techniques will be given in a general monograph on Cherán in preparation.

423 hectares in size,[48] and may be used indefinitely by the recipient, provided they are not left untilled for more than two successive years. They may [428] be inherited by sons, daughters, or in-laws, and may be divided among them. A family head may sell the use rights of his land to another member of the community, but not to outsiders. The official title to lands is held by the pueblo.

Another remnant of communal holdings, common in all parts of Tarasca, is found in the woodland, which is considered common land.[49]

[804] [TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33b]

[48] In most parts of Tarasca land is measured in terms of the quantity of grain used in planting. Thus, in La Cañada a plot of maize land may vary from 1 to 8 liters of maize in size. Approximately 2 liters of maize is necessary to plant 1 hectare. (The term "hectare," however, is unknown to most Tarascans.) Five liters of maize equal 1 *medida;* 100 liters of maize are equivalent to 1 *fanega* (one hundredweight), or one *yunta,* meaning the amount of land in which a team (*yunta*) of oxen can plant one *fanega* of maize in one season. In terms of wheat, 44 liters equal 1 *carga,* or from 1 to 1½ *yuntas.* The above equivalents are those used in Chilchota and Carapan. Similar land measurements are employed in the Sierra.

[49] This aboriginal custom parallels the ancient Spanish practice of reserving woodland as communal property.

TARASCAN ECONOMY

241 Tarascan economy is today, and was in pre-Conquest times, as diversified as that of any large Indian group in North America. Agriculture has always been the preeminent occupation of most of the Tarascan population. Formerly, a 226 significant part of the people were fishers (or farmers and fishers), living around the shores of Lakes Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén and the numerous lakes and marshes of the northern plateau; the modern fishers are limited chiefly to the islands within Lake Pátzcuaro. Moreover, hunting and 224 gathering, although now of small importance, is 222 still practiced throughout the area. Apart from 463 the food quest, two other occupations have characterized Tarascan economy since prehistoric days: handicrafts and trade. Many of the Tarascan ● [438] villages specialize in particular home industries, for which they are famed over a large area. Again, in prehistoric and modern times the Tarascan has been one of the more notable Indian traders, serving as commercial middleman between the *tierra fría* and *tierra caliente* to the south and west.

AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND ASSOCIATED CROP TYPES

241 Tarascan agriculture involves a mixture of New and Old World plants and cultivation practices. 177 The native trilogy—maize, beans, and squash—

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 33b]

243 are planted together, the seeds being separated according to color after the harvest. The plant is cut with a sickle in November or December, the grain threshed in an open space in the fields and stored in small ollas in the troje.

The cultivation of amaranth is disappearing among the Tarascans; it would probably die out rapidly if women did not constantly remind men to plant it every year. In some Sierra pueblos it is no longer grown, but grain is brought in from [438] other towns, particularly from Pamatácuaro and its surrounding ranches and from Capacuaro.[77] Little is grown in the Lake towns or in La Cañada, the grain being imported from the Sierra. In a few pueblos it was claimed that *alegría* was neither cultivated nor eaten: Paracho, Huánsito, San Jerónimo, Puácuaro, Napízaro.[78]

262 In terms of quantity consumed, amaranth has little importance in present Tarascan diet. Its significance lies in its relict position in Indian culture. Today the most widespread amaranth 252 food among the Tarascans is a tamal called "č'apáta," made from a mixture of ground maize and *alegría*. Blue or black ekuáru maize is dry-ground on the metate; red or black *alegría* is then ground into the maize flour; a sweetening (piloncillo) and water are stirred into the mixed flour, and the resultant dough is wrapped in maize husks and boiled in an olla. In some pueblos of La Cañada ground *alegría* is mixed with wheat flour and piloncillo, of which tamales called č'apátas de trigo are made. Moreover, *bolitas*, confections made of white amaranth, are made, but are more common in adjacent mestizo towns. The grain is toasted on the *comal*, then mixed with honey or a paste of piloncillo to make small cakes. These are commonly sold at fairs or on fiesta days.[79] Few ceremonial or religious uses of amaranth were found in the Tarascan pueblos.[80]

[77] Curiously, the Sierra pueblos which no longer cultivate *alegría*, but import grain for home use, are some of the more isolated, such as Urapicho, Cocucho, Nurío, and Pomacuarán. In these towns no reason was given for not growing *alegría*. Possibly the inhabitants found it less bothersome to buy the grain than go to the trouble of raising it.

[78] Modern amaranth cultivation extends beyond the present limits of Tarascan speech in Michoacán. It is still grown and used in the former indigenous towns of Apo, Tancítaro, Sirahuén, Opopeo, and in some mestizo *rancho*s north of Uruapan.

[79] In Pamatácuaro an atole is made of amaranth and black maize. Such atole is widespread in the highlands of northern Guerrero (Hendrichs 1945-46, vol. 1, p. 35); and is probably encountered in other indigenous areas of Mexico. In Atapan a pakéua (ground grain boiled in water to a solid mass) is made of red *alegría*.

[80] In Pamatácuaro atole of black *alegría* and black maize is taken especially at the maize planting celebrations. In Sicuicho č'apátas are eaten at both the maize planting and harvesting fiestas. In other pueblos special uses of amaranth were denied.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 : NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 46-a]

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 177 197 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit [242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are [242] only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 438 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *ozumuse*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chata*, *mericuna*, *chata de Serina* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *morellana* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1789 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, *f.* 226). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27–28, for description of pear picking.

orchard. In such cases trees are closely spaced and present an unkept appearance.

Many Tarascan pueblos in the lower and warmer areas bordering the Sierra specialize in subtropical fruits, and possibly served prehistorically as fruit supply centers for the Sierra towns. Since the development of modern transportation their produce is taken to many parts of Mexico. San Angel Zurumucapio is the avocado center of the Tarascan *tierra templada*,[98] Tingambato the chirimoya town, and the former Tarascan pueblos, Ziricuritiro and Acahuato, produce bananas, mangoes, mamey, citrus, etc. Tarascan Atapan and mestizo Tingüindín supply the western part of the Sierra with citrus, guayaba, and mangoes. As early as 1581 Atapan had become a citrus-growing center, and probably before the Conquest had produced avocados and chirimoyas for Sierra trade. The La Cañada towns have ever been the northern Tarascan fruit center. Today avocados form the main fruit speciality of Acachuén, Ichán-Tacuro, and Carapan; oranges are the chief export of Tanaquillo.[99] With the possible exception of Ihuatzio, which produces large quantities of avocado, there is no specialized fruit town in the Lake area, although the aggregate subtropical fruit production there is of importance in Sierra trade.

Fruits from the *tierra caliente* have long had a special significance among the Sierra Tarascans. Today at least two tropical fruits are eaten especially at religious fiestas, and special effort is made to obtain them for such occasions. Coconuts (kóko) in some Sierra pueblos are rarely eaten except during the Ramos and Easter holidays. Formerly in Charapan 2 weeks before Easter a group composed of 15 men and boys from each barrio traveled down to the Tepalcatepec Basin to fetch coconuts for eating and coconut blossoms for church decorations. The band was ceremoniously seen off with the firing of rockets.[100] Likewise, the large plantain (*plátano macho*) is eaten

[98] The large avocado trees in the house lots of Zurumucapio completely hide the town. Two types of the fruit are grown, the black and white-skin varieties. Both are irrigated, and the fruit is harvested in April and May. Frequently coffee plants are grown under the shade of the avocado.

[99] Other fruits produced in La Cañada: Limas, guayaba, chirimoyas, figs, apricots, juaquiniquiles (ñurén), plums, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, apples, zapote blanco, capulín, a few bananas.

[100] This custom has practically disappeared in the Sierra. Most coconuts and other tropical fruit are now obtained at the Ramos (Palm Sunday) fairs at Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. In the Lake area during Easter festivities churches are often decorated with melons (*sandías*) from the Balsas.

addition to the gardens of Lake Pátzcuaro, commercial truck farming is also carried on in La Cañada and in Atapan, but on a smaller scale. There, fields are irrigated by diverting water from streams, a technique probably learned from Europeans.[103]

The native chile, *jitomate* (tom-kuaraki), *tomate*, and green beans (*ejotes*) and the Old World onion, garlic, cabbage, and lettuce are the principal products of the commercial gardens. Chile is the most significant of these, in terms of both acreage and market value. The fruit of this plant, a vitamin-rich gastrin, has always been important in the aboriginal diet. Two species of *Capsicum* are cultivated: *C. annuum*, the common herbaceous annual, and *C. fructescens*, the perennial shrub (*chile de árbol*). The latter is cultivated mainly in the house gardens. Both species require a long growing season and abundant water; consequently chile cultivation is absent from the Sierra, but is found in the surrounding well-watered areas. Chile, therefore, has ever been a trade article between the Sierra and its borderlands.[104] Tarascan Puácuaro, Uricho, Arúcutin, and mestizo Tócuaro and Erongarícuaro are the main chile producers of the Lake. Most of the La Cañada pueblos raise some chile for export into the Sierra, but Etúcuaro, outside the valley, is the largest producer of that general district. All these areas raise *chile verde*, rather than the *chile seco* of the *tierra caliente* and Lake Cuitzeo district.[105] In both the Lake Pátzcuaro and La Cañada areas chile and tomatoes are first planted in the *almáciga*, or hotbed, in December.[106] Replanting in the gardens is done in March, and the vegetables are harvested from June through September.

STOCK RAISING AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS

Modern Tarascans raise most of the European animal domesticates. Most households own a team of oxen for plowing and one or two burros for hauling wood and carrying produce to market.

[Text continues top of P. 49a-Analisis]

[103] In several formerly Tarascan towns in the northern plateau area vegetables are cultivated on a commercial scale. The truck farming around Zirícuaro, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, was significant during the latter part of the 18th century. Tarascan horticulturists of this pueblo carried vegetable produce as far as the Toluca market (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 265).

[104] The Tarascan name for Chilchota is *tirápu*, which means green chile. The Sierra people have always thought of La Cañada as a producer of chile, as well as other vegetables and fruits.

[105] The chief varieties of *C. annuum* in the Lake district are *lumbrillo* (*verde*), *amarillo*, and *relleno* (*bell chile*). *Chile seco* from the *tierra caliente* reaches the Sierra through the markets at Urupan, Pátzcuaro, and Los Reyes.

[106] The *almácipe* is likely a European introduction, although it was pre-Columbian in the *chinampa* district in the Valley of Mexico.

501 drying up of lakes in the northern and western sections of Tarasca, the distribution of the dugout has decreased in area during the last 100 years. At the present time the Tarascan boat is used on Lakes Pátzcuaro, Zirahuén, Cuitzeo, and Chapala; two old dugouts on the small pond at Tarejero represent the remnants of the once extensive canoe traffic in the Zacapu lagoon.[124] Most of the Lake
● [438] Pátzcuaro boats are made in the Sierra settlements of Cumachuén, Capacuaro, and in the highlands to the south, mainly around the *rancho* of Santa Juana. The boats are dragged to the lake shore, where they sell for 100 to more than 600 pesos each. They are said to last for 3 to 5 years before becoming waterlogged. Two sizes of boats are seen on Lake Pátzcuaro—the small ičáruta for two to four persons, used for shore fishing, and the larger tepári, which carries from four to eight individuals and is employed in midlake fishing and for transport.[125] The smaller boat is paddled with the *pala* or šótakua, which has a round blade of pine (25 × 28 cm.) attached to a handle of oak or *tejocote* varying in length from 30 cm. (for children) to over 2 m. The larger canoes are both paddled and rowed. Sierra folk from Cumachuén and Capacuaro manufacture oars and paddles, which they market in Erongarícuaro and Pátzcuaro.

226 **Fishing methods.**—In most parts of the lake, fishing is done in the early morning hours between 5 and 10 o'clock. Fishing is seasonal, most activity occurring during the dry season (November to May). *Chinchorreros* usually operate in groups of four; often blood relations, the group divides the catch equally. An owner of a net and boat often hires *peones* to help with the *chinchorro*, paying wages or dividing the catch. The wife and children occasionally help set the čerémekua along the shore, and often women aid with the *chinchorro*. Midlake fishing is open to all inhabitants of the Lake area, who pay a federal license of 1.50 pesos annually. By custom, however, the people of a particular settlement have exclusive fishing rights along the shore of their lands; those from other pueblos may not fish the shores of

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[124] As late as 1873 heavy canoe traffic is described between Tarejero and Zacapu (Pérez Hernández, 1873, p. 119). Late in the 16th century small reed *balsas* were used on Lake Chapala (Ponce Relacion, vol. 2, pp. 18-20).

[125] Measurements of the dugouts: The ičáruta has a length of 2.5 m. to 6.5 m., width of 60 cm., and depth of 40 cm.; the tepári ranges from 6.5 to 11 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 50 cm. deep.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 56-b]

313 of Nahuatzen, Sevina, and Cumachuén was almost completely stripped by the mills. Today in this area, barren, windswept sheep pastures, supporting occasional remnant clumps of pine, indicate the extent of forest destruction (pl. 8). Throughout the Sierra there is probably not a piece of virgin timber, so long and thorough has been lumber exploitation.

HANDICRAFTS

438 472 463 Among most people lacking modern transportation facilities and mass production techniques, cottage industries, often termed "native crafts," are characteristic of the local economy. Owing to the presence of particular raw materials nearby and/or to traditional skills, people of one village often tend to specialize in one or more crafts. Cottage industry and village specialization are prevalent in most of indigenous and even mestizo Mexico. It is and has been particularly so among the Tarascans, whom the early Spanish chroniclers described as a skilled and clever people (Beaumont, 1874, vol. 2, p. 165). Moreover, progressive exhaustion of originally poor soils and population increase have forced many farmers of the Sierra to turn to crafts for additional income. Today five general handicrafts (ceramics, textiles, woodwork, leathercraft, and metalwork) are practiced and over 30 types of articles made among 54 Tarascan towns and *ranchos* (map 20). Only 10 Tarascan-speaking pueblos lack a cottage industry. In 26 pueblos at least 25 percent of the "working" population [132] practice various crafts. Some villages specialize in only one industry. For example, over 80 percent of the working population of Santa Fé de la Laguna make pottery; nine-tenths of that of Jarácuaro are hat makers. Moreover, many towns which carry on various handicrafts may concentrate on one. Thus, Tarecuaro is famed for agave fiber products, Pamatácuaro and neighboring *ranchos* for wooden spoons and bowls. In most pueblos more than one craft is practiced, and in a few as many as eight distinct products are made.

177 463 Like so many of his material culture elements, the Tarascan's crafts represent a mixture of

[132] The "working" population in Tarascan towns is estimated by dividing the total population by 3.5. The Tarascan family averages about 5 persons, but often the wife devotes her spare time to cottage industry and is sometimes helped by the older children. Boys over 12 years old usually work in the fields as farmers or in the house at the father's trade.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 178 [166] An interesting aspect of cottage industries is their ephemeral character. Owing to movement of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[184] [323] The pottery industry in Santa Fé de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was [294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan [282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft [325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[184] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

[P. 57-C]

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]

Pueblo	1940	1841	1822	1780
Acachuato	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ahuiran	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Tablecloths. Woodwork: Violins. Turned work.	Weaving (cotton): Mantas. Belts. Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings of cotton thread.	Knitting: Men's cotton stockings.
Angahuan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths.	Woodwork: Stakes.	Woodwork: Stakes.	Woodwork: Bones.
Arantepacua	Capotes. Brooms.	(?)	(?)	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Aranza	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(Depopulated.)
Arocutin	None.	(?)	(?)	Petate weaving.
Atapan	None.	None.	None.	None.
Azajo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.

[1] See footnote at end of table.

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TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*—Continued

Pueblo	1948	1941	1822	1789
Caltzontzin (Parkutin)	Weaving (cotton): Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).	(?)	Weaving (cotton).
Capacuaro	Woodwork: Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts.	Woodwork: Boxes.	(?)	Woodwork: Boxes.
Carapan	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Charapan	Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf.	Weaving (cotton). Woodwork: Rosaries. Chocolate beaters.	Woodwork: Rosaries. Malacates.	Weaving (cotton. Woodwork: Rosaries.
Charin	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Napkins. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Hat making: Palm leaf. Embroidery work.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork (1742).
Cherán	None.	None.	None.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Chilchota	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Cocucho	Pottery.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries.	Woodwork: Rosaries.	Pottery. Woodwork: Rosaries. Other turned work. Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (1742).
Cuanso	Leatherwork: Shoes. Belts. Saddle leather. Pottery.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Cumanja	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Conejos, Los (Paranguaricutiro).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Weaving (cotton).
Corupo	Woodwork: Cabinetmaking. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Boxes. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Pikestaffs molds. Boxes.	Woodwork: Boxes.
Cuanajo	Woodwork: Cabinet work: Boxes.	Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work. Boxes.

See footnote at end of table.

[P. 59]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages* [1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1933	1780
Cuanjo—Continued	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Aprons. Tablecloths. Weaving (wool): Blankets.			
Cuanshuato	Woodwork: Bateas. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars.	Woodwork: Digging sticks. Oars. Woodwork (1762): Saddle frames.
Erongaricuaro	Potato weaving	(?)	Potato weaving.	(?)
Huiramba	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Ichán	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Jarácuaro	Potato weaving. Basketry.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Janitzio	Netting. Weaving (cotton): Men's belts.	(?)	(?)	Netting.
Jarácuaro	Hat making. Palm leaf. Weaving. Belts. Adobe making.	Potato weaving.	(?)	Potato weaving.
La Pamanda	None.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nahuatzen	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Cloth. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Leatherwork: Saddles. Belts.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Saddles.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Shoes. Saddles.
Naranja	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Napizaro	Potato weaving.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Nocutzepo	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Nurio	Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Hat making: Felt.	Hat making.	Hat making: Felt.
Ocumicho	Clay toys.	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes. Weaving (cotton)
Pamatácuaro	Woodwork: Spoons. Bateas. Hat making: Wheat straw. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks	Woodwork: Spoons. Digging sticks. Weaving (cotton).

[1] See footnote at end of table.

[P. 60]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1769
Paracho	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Turned work. Cabinet work. Toys. Weaving (cotton): Rebozos. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work. Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Musical instrument. Cabinet work.
Patamban	Pottery. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Pottery.	Pottery.
Pichátaro	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Rebozos. Woodwork: Cabinet work. Broom handles. Batea. Hat making: Palm leaf. Petate weaving.	Weaving (agava). Woodwork: Cabinet work.	(?)	Woodwork: Cabinet work.
Pomacuaran	None.	Weaving (cotton). Knitting: Men's stockings.	Knitting: Men's stockings.	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames. Pottery (?).
Pulcuaro	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Quiroga	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Capotas.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Quiroga	Woodwork: Batea. Turned work. Chairs.	(?)	Woodwork: Batea. Boxes.	Woodwork: Batea. Woodwork (1742): Batea. Boxes.
San Andrés	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
San Angel	None.	(?)	(?)	None.
Santa Fé	Pottery.	(?)	Woodwork.	Woodwork: Batea (painted). Boxes (painted). Petate weaving.
San Felipe	Ironwork. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Ironwork.	Ironwork.	Ironwork (also in 1844).
San Jerónimo	Petate weaving. Weaving (wool): Belts. Blankets.	(?)	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving. Woodwork: Boxes.

See footnote at end of table.

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1939	1780
San José	Pottery.	(?)	Leather work: Tanning. Woodwork: Saddle frames.	(?)
San Lorenzo	Weaving (cotton): Belts. Tablecloths.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Santo Tomás	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Sevina	Woodwork: Bateas. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Shakes.	Woodwork: Saddle frames.
Sicuicho	None.	None.	None.	Weaving (cotton).
Siris	Woodwork: Spoons. Bateas.	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)	(Nonexistent.)
Sopeco	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tacicuaro	Petate weaving. Capote making.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.	Petate weaving.
Tanaco	Weaving (wool): Blankets. Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates.	None.	(?)	(?) Pottery (1742). Woodworking (1742). Saddle frames.
Tanaquillo	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)
Tarecuato	Weaving (agave): Morrales. Ayates. Costales. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Embroidery work. Rope making.	(?)	(?)	Weaving (agave).
Tarejero	None.	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Turemendo	Hat making: Wheat straw. Palm leaf. Weaving (wool): Blankets.	(?)	Leatherwork: Shoes.	(?)
Trinidaro	Pottery: (Hat making ceased in 1936.)	(?)	(?)	Leatherwork: Tanning. Shoes.
Tócuaro	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Masks.	(?)	(?)	None.
Tócuro	Pottery.	(?)	(?)	(?)

[1] See footnote at end of table

[P. 62-a]

438
463

TABLE 2.—*Native crafts in Tarascan villages*[1]—Continued

Pueblo	1946	1941	1922	1780
Turicuaro	Stonework: Metates. Woodwork: Bateas. Broom handles. Weaving (cotton): Belts. Weaving (wool): Blankets. Capote making.	Stonework: Metates.	Stonework: Metates.	(?)
Tzintzuntzan	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.	Pottery.
Urapicho	Hat making: Palm leaf.	None.	None (?).	(?) Woodwork (1742): Saddle frames.
Uricho	Petate weaving.	(?)	(?)	Petate weaving.
Zacán	(?)	Weaving (cotton).	Weaving (cotton): Mantas.	(?) Woodwork (1944): Bateas. Rope making (1698).
Zirosto	Woodwork: Bateas (disappeared since volcano). Weaving (wool): Blankets.	Woodwork: Bateas. Spoons. Piloncillo molds. Weaving (cotton).	Woodwork: Bateas (painted).	Woodwork: Bateas. Woodwork (1944): Bateas. Rope making (1698).

[1] Sources: 1944, Basalenque (1886); 1742, Villaseñor y Sánchez (1746–48); 1780, AGN, Historia, vol. 73, 1922, Martínez de Lejarza (1939); 1941, AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 704, Memorias Estadísticas, 1941; 1946, Field observation.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.626]

438 463 178 Some industries, important in pre-Conquest times, have completely disappeared. The fine Tarascan featherwork was nearly extinct by the beginning of the 18th century (Escobar, 1924, pp. 149–151). Furthermore, the use of the ground pith of maize stalks, from which various objects (mainly religious) were molded, apparently flared in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then disappeared (Escobar, 1924, p. 144).

On the other hand, crafts which have persisted in some pueblos for the last 160 years may predate the Conquest. Witness the leatherwork of Nahuatzen, a leather-making center in 1640, where both deer and cow hides were tanned (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362); the many towns which still specialize in cotton weaving with the belt loom; the petate-making towns around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro.

CERAMICS

323 Clayware is indispensable in most Mexican kitchens,[135] and tile roofing is used extensively in

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P.62 cJ

323 most parts of the country. As in pre-Conquest days, the manufacture of clayware in Mexico is still a cottage industry in which various towns specialize.

323 Including Tzintzuntzan (largely mestizo), there
438 are nine pottery towns in the present Tarascan area: Santa Fé, Comanja, Zipiajo, Huánsito, Santo Tomás, San José, Patamban, and Cocucho. With the exception of Cocucho, all are located in the čaránda, or clay-soils district north of the Sierra, usually near deposits of suitable firing clay (map 20). The Cocucho potters have always hauled clay from the vicinity of Tangancícuaro and San José, for suitable deposits rarely occur in the Sierra. Other pottery towns, now mestizo, are also located in the northern clay area (Tangancícuaro, Capula, Villa Morelos, Penícuaro). Moreover, other Tarascan villages in La Cañada (Sopoco, Ichán, Tacuro, Tanaquillo), in the Zacapu

[10] The common clay kitchen utensils include various types of pots (*ollas*) for boiling; the *comal*, or round, flat piece placed on the hearth for frying, broiling, and toasting; small saucers (*cazuelas*) for frying and from which food is sometimes eaten; water jugs (*cántaros*); drinking cups (*vasos*).

323 Basin (Tirindaro), and in the Lake area (San
438 Jerónimo and Erongarícuaro) make pottery on a small scale, mainly for local use.

Modern Tarascans use both the hand and the mold techniques. The latter is usually accompanied by application of lead oxide glaze. The former is still used in only three pueblos—Comanja, Zipiajo, and Cocucho, where it is performed solely by women.[136] In Comanja the lower part of the vessel is shaped from a single daub of clay. A depression is made in the center and the walls are built up with the hands by pressing in small daubs of clay. The outer and inner surfaces are smoothed with a corncob. The result is a well-balanced vessel with walls of even thickness. The vessels are rough-finished, rarely polished, and litharge glaze is never employed. Firing is accomplished by placing pottery on a pile of dried manure. The pots are covered with dried grass (*zacatón*), which, when lighted, ignites the manure. The grass ash is permitted to cover the pots, a hole being left in the center of the pile to permit smoke from the smoldering manure to escape. After 3 hours the pottery is fired to sufficient hardness. The chief ceramic products of Comanja are the large water ollas, called "*comanjas*," which are marketed in the Sierra, the Lake area, and in some of the mestizo towns to the north. Similar ollas are made by an identical process in Zipiajo, but on a smaller scale.

In Cocucho the ceramic process is similar to that of Comanja, except that the base of the vessel is formed on the bottom of a broken olla and part of the wall is built up of rolled pieces of clay (pls. 9 and 10). Firing is also similar, but pine bark and rotten wood, rather than manure, is employed for fuel; this process probably represents the truly aboriginal technique. The Cocucho women make large ollas with thick walls, especially famed as tamale cooking pots throughout the Sierra. This olla, rarely used outside of the Sierra, is called kukúču, from which the village derives its name. The tunúči, a small flat olla used as a *tlascal* (receptacle for tortillas), is also made.

[136] The native hand technique was practiced in other Tarascan towns during the 18th century. In 1729, according to Matías de Escobar, "*Es cosa que admirar como que los he visto en Tiripitío* [southwest of Morelia] *como labran cuanto* [loza] *quieren, sin las ruedas y moldes de los Españoles. Un pequeño cuero y unas malas navajas son todos los instrumentos con que obran*" (Escobar, 1924, p. 143). Both the hand and mold methods appear to be native in Mexico, although the latter was known to Europeans. See Foster, 1948, for a discussion of native and introduced elements in the modern mold technique.

923 438 The manufacture of these two Tarascan pots is slowly dying. In 1946 only 10 women were making pottery in Cocucho, whereas in 1841 it was made in practically every household of the village (AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707).

Today by far the greater amount of Tarascan pottery is made with molds by both men and women.[137] None is manufactured with the potter's wheel. All who use molds have taken [177] over the European glaze technique and the firing oven. Tarascan mold-made pottery can be differentiated according to finish. The "Patamban" type, for instance, carries a beautiful green glaze, known and admired over most of western Mexico.[138] Green glaze is also used in Santo Tomás and Santa Fé de la Laguna, having been recently introduced into the latter pueblo. Pottery hand-painted with brilliant floral designs on a background of black glaze is a specialty of Santa Fé de la Laguna. This unusual technique was [177] introduced around 1900, and was readily adopted by the inhabitants, whose former industry was batea painting. As mentioned previously, the inhabitants of Santa Fé de la Laguna began to make pots during the last quarter of the 19th century. Since then their ware has become [439] known throughout Mexico, and some is imported by United States curio shops. In 1936 the technique spread to Tiríndaro, when daughters of a Santa Fé potter married into Tiríndaro families. The most common modern household pottery is the Red ware, either glazed or polished, made in Tzintzuntzan, Huánsito, San José, and Patamban. Before being fired the large pieces, such as ollas and *cántaros*, are usually slipped with a red clay solution and then burnished with iron pyrites. A handsomely polished surface, similar to that of the pre-Conquest wares, results after firing. (Such ware is fired only once.) Smaller pieces are often glazed with litharge. Glazed pieces are fired twice, the litharge being applied after the first firing and the glazed surface appearing after the second. Designs are often painted in white (*tierra blanca*) and black (*tierra* [439] *de hormigón*). Red ware is carried as far as Guadal-

[137] See Foster (1948) for a detailed description of the mold technique used by the potters of Tzintzuntzan.

[138] To produce the green color, pulverized copper oxide (*cobre quemado*) and yellow flinty quartz (*pedernal*) are added to the lead oxide (litharge) solution, which is applied to the pottery before firing. A black glaze is also made by adding a mineral called *tierra de hormigo* and pedernal to the litharge.

[P. 64-a]

438
323 ajara, Morelia, the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero, and Mexico City.

[439] Another type of ceramic industry is represented by the clay toy figurines made by the women of Ocumicho in their spare time. The hollow figures are formed with molds in shapes of diminutive horses, sheep, oxen, and men, each with an opening which serves as a whistle. After firing, they are painted and varnished. Owing to complete lack of water near the town in the dry season, this activity is carried on only during the rains. Ocumicho figurines are seen in markets in many parts of western Mexico and the *tierra caliente* of Guerrero and Michoacán.

Red clay tiles, which are slowly replacing shakes in the Tarascan area, are made in some pueblos within the clay belt on the margins of the Sierra. Tanaco is the sole town within the Sierra proper to make this product. In Nahuatzen the [177] technique of making flat concrete tiles was introduced in 1944. Such tiles are replacing the less durable clay ones in some mestizo towns.

TEXTILES

286 In 35 modern Tarascan villages spinning and weaving of cotton, wool, or agave fiber are carried on as cottage industries. Both indigenous [171] and European techniques are employed, neither having changed since the 16th century. Since the beginning of the present century, however, factory-made textiles from large Mexican towns have begun to displace some home-woven articles, but indigenous conservatism still supports the native handicraft.

283 **Spinning.**—Formerly Tarascan weavers spun raw cotton from the *tierra caliente*, but at present commercial cotton thread, purchased in mestizo markets, is prepared for weaving by twisting five to six strands on the spinning wheel. Today only raw wool and agave fiber are homespun, the latter with the native *malacate* (uipínu), or hand spindle with round clay wheel, the former with the 16th century spinning wheel (*torno*). (See Beals, 1946, p. 36, for illustration of spinning wheel.) [396] Both cotton thread and spun wool are usually colored locally with aniline dyes purchased in mestizo markets.

286 **Weaving.**—Tarascans weave all agave and cotton fabrics on the native belt loom (patákua (Paracho); jopáratakua (Charapan, Tarecuato)), a horizontal loom which has a backstrap and is

283
439 cord; these and the woven articles are marketed in Guanajuato, Jalisco, the *tierra caliente*, and in all parts of the present Tarascan area.

Woolen products are woven mainly on the
286 European loom, which was introduced early in
[177] the 16th century.[141] During most of the colonial period this loom was used principally in the *obrajes*, or cloth mills established by Spaniards in various parts of Mexico near an abundant supply of wool. Indians first learned European weaving techniques in these mills, the labor for which came from surrounding native pueblos. By 1540 an *obraje*, operated by 26 forced native workers, had been set up in Acámbaro (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 33), and before the close of the century woolen mills existed in Taximaroa and Valladolid (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 225). Moreover, Indians quickly learned to spin wool, for tributes of spun wool were exacted from some pueblos, possibly to supply *obrajes* nearby.[142] It is not clear when the Tarascans began to use the hand loom in their own villages; possibly some looms were set up in the northern towns in the 16th century.[143] A report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73) on the Tarascan pueblos of Lake Pátzcuaro and the Sierra, however, mentions the use only of the native loom. The first indication of a native wool industry in the Tarascan area comes from the Martínez de Lejarza report of 1822, which cites the *obrajeros* of San Juan Parangaricutiro (later the most renowned of the Tarascan blanket-weaving towns) and of several northern mestizo towns.[144] Tarascan wool weaving on a commercial scale may be post-colonial, having little economic basis until the break-down of the large woolen mills at the close of the colonial period. Today woolen blankets
● [438] (*cobijas*, *serapes*) are made on the European hand loom in 24 Tarascan towns, Nahuatzen and pre-volcano Parangaricutiro being the largest pro-
ducers.

[141] Strands of wool are sometimes mixed with cotton in making women's belts. Often the warp is of woolen strands, the woof of cotton thread.

[142] For example, ca. 1540 the people of Puruándiro (Michoacán) contributed each week two arrobas of spun wool (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 117).

[143] The Relación de Chilchota (Mus. Nac.) states that some natives in the town made clothes of wool, but the type of loom used is not given. Moreover, according to the Relación de Cuitzeo (Mus. Nac.), the Indians living around the lake "... *hacían lana e las enamoraxaxe para hacer ropa para vestirse, y sus mugeres la hacíçian* ..." Again, the type of loom used to weave wool is not given.

[144] The northern towns mentioned: Morelia, Zinapécuaro, Ziticuaro, Taximaroa, Jiquilpan, Huaracháta, La Piedad, Huaniqueo, and Tangamandapio. At that time the latter pueblo was wholly Tarascan; according to Martínez de Lejarza (1824, p. 227), "... *sus habitantes trabajan telares de algodón y lana.*"

286 ducers. In many towns only three of four *obrajeros* operate full time and produce mainly for local consumption. Raw wool is purchased locally, is washed, carded, dried, and spun by the *obrajero*. In addition to manufacturing blankets,
[438] some weavers in Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Tanaco make woolen cloth for the traditional black skirt, which is still worn by most Tarascan women. Such skirts, however, are being made increasingly from factory-woven woolens purchased in mestizo towns.

531 **Embroidery and sewing.**—In the Sierra villages
438 of San Lorenzo, Tarecuato, Angahuan, Ahuíran, Cuanajo, Nahuatzen, and Charapan some women specialize in cross-stitching and embroidering designs on blouses (*huipiles*), napkins, and tablecloths. Many of these articles are for tourist trade in Uruapan, Zamora, and Pátzcuaro.
286 During the colonial period and the first half of the 19th century, the men and women of Ahuíran and Pomacuarán knitted men's stockings of cotton thread, using otate needles (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, pp. 179–180).
[439] Ahuíran stockings were sold to mestizos and Spaniards over a wide area, but this trade declined after the change in styles of men's clothing in the early 1800's.

Hat making.—Among the Tarascans this indus-
294 try was introduced probably in early colonial
[177] days.[145] However, the first mention of the industry comes from the report of 1789, which cites it in Nurío (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 348). There, hats were made of wool, likely by a felting process, but the industry had disappeared by the end of the last century. None of the colonial sources mentions the manufacture of straw hats in Tarascan towns. Old men from Pichátaro remember hat making during their childhood, which fact at least dates the industry in the last half of the 19th century. (Palm-leaf hats were made in Morelia at the end of the colonial period, according to Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 29.)
294 Today hats (principally of palm leaf, some of
438 wheat straw) are made in seven Tarascan towns, Jarácuaro Island being the main center.[146] Palm leaf brought up from the *tierra caliente* is cut in thin sections, which are braided into strips, called

[145] According to tradition, hat making was one of the many industries which Don Vasco de Quiroga taught the natives. (Leon, 1904, p. 63.)

[146] At least one member (and often three or four) of every family on Jarácuaro Island makes hats. Having little tillable land, this pueblo is one of the most specialized home-industry towns in the Tarascan area.

294 *trensas*. In practically every Tarascan pueblo women, children, and sometimes men weave
●438 *trensas* in their spare time, while walking to and from market, and while herding sheep. Braids are sold in the main markets, where they are purchased by hat makers. Little wheat straw is now braided, palm leaf being more durable and more easily handled.[147] After they are pressed and straightened with wooden rollers (fashioned like a clothes wringer), the braids are sewed together in spiral form, beginning at the crown. The brim and crown are made separately and sewed together. In Jarácuaro wooden forms are used to block crowns. Most hatters employ a Singer sewing machine, but those of Urapicho, Pamatácuaro, and Zacán sew by hand. In some towns hat making is disappearing, owing largely to factory competition. Pichátaro, formerly an important hat town, now has but four hatters. In 1936 the industry disappeared completely in Tiríndaro.

285 **Tule weaving.**—The indigenous sleeping mat or *petate* (k'uírakua) is found in most of highland
438 Mexico. Also, the fire fan or *soplador* (p'unítatarákua), an indispensable kitchen utensil, is woven of tule. Mats and fire fans are made wherever tule is available—along the shores of shallow lakes, marshy areas, and river banks. Consequently, the villagers living around Lake Pátzcuaro are the chief tule weavers in the present Tarascan area (map 20; pl. 12). In San Andrés 90 percent of the working population make *petates*. Even a few families in the Sierra towns of Pichátaro and Cherán fabricate mats from tule reeds imported from Erongarícuaro. Formerly the towns near the northern marsh[1]A districts were important *petate* producers, but there the industry has greatly declined with the desiccation of wet areas and disappearance of the tule brakes.[148] Tule is likewise being depleted along the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. The *petateros* of Puácuaro, Napízaro, and Uricho import reeds from Jarácuaro Island, the local supply having been exhausted years ago.

Tule reeds are cut with the sickle, semidried, and bundled for transport or storage (pl. 8). In

[147] Hats of wheat straw are now made only in Pamatácuaro, Teremedo, and Apo (mestizo).

[148] A few *petates* are still made in Tarascan Turejero, on the border of the former Zacapu marshes; in mestizo Etúcuaro (Tangancícuaro Basin); and in Tacátzcuaro (near the Cotija graben lakes). Moreover, the industry is still carried on in some of the Lerma Delta towns east of Lake Chapala, and in a few villages around Lake Cuitzeo.

[1]A [probably should read 'marsh'.—Analyst]

285 438 the Lake area a twilled technique is used in mat making, which is performed on the ground, the only tools being a knife or sharp stone to cut tule stalks and a wooden mallet to flatten the reeds as they are twilled. Several sizes of mats are made; the largest, called simply k'uírakua-k'éri, measures 1.5 by 1 m.[149] Both mats and fire fans are taken to the Lake markets (Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, Quiroga), where they are purchased by the Sierra people and buyers from the *tierra caliente*.

Basketry.—Ihuatzio and San Jerónimo in the Lake area are the only modern Tarascan towns in which baskets are made. The former Tarascan towns of Tangamandapio (west of Zamora) and Panindícuaro (north of Zacapu) are the main basket centers in the general area, supplying the Sierra people with the šúndiča, or harvest baskets for maize. The Ihuatzio baskets are made of split carrizo stalks, which grow in abundance in local house lots. Both wicker and twilling techniques are used (pl. 12).

286 438 **Netting.**—In all fishing villages around Lake Pátzcuaro nets are made by men, women, and children in their spare time. On Janitzio and the Urandén Islands a few professional *rederos* fabricate nets to sell to fishers in other pueblos. Cotton [283] thread purchased in Pátzcuaro is wound on the *hilador* (šoróranskua) and five to six strands are twisted with the native malacate or with the European spinning wheel. The twisted strands are water-soaked and sun-dried. Nets are made with the čurúkua, a large wooden needle (20 cm. long, 2 cm. wide).

294 [171] [438] [439] **Capote making.**—In many parts of indigenous Mexico the palm-leaf raincape (*capote*), similar to those worn in the Orient, is a common outdoor apparel during the wet season. *Capotes* are made by women in three Tarascan towns—Quinceo, Arantepacua, and Turicuaro—using leaves of the *palma pimu* (*Acoelorraphe pimo*), which are imported from the *tierra caliente* below Ario de Rosales.[150] The capes are fabricated by tying soaked strips of palm leaf onto braided cords, two of which are stretched parallel and one foot apart on pegs driven into the ground. The strips of

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 67a]

[149] Other types: The k'amérika (1.3 m.×80 cm.) and the čimánitepémuata (1 m.×30 cm.), both used for sleeping; the jatápetakua, a small knee mat; ístičan, a long, narrow mat sold to mestizos as a sort of rug. Many more sizes and varieties occur, the names and types varying from place to place. The terms and types given above were observed in Ihuatzio and some of the ranchos along the shore of the Tarıu-k'éri Peninsula.

[150] Most of the palm leaves used in Arantepacua are said to come from the localities of Rosario, La Playa, Charapendo, and San Marcos, south of Ario.

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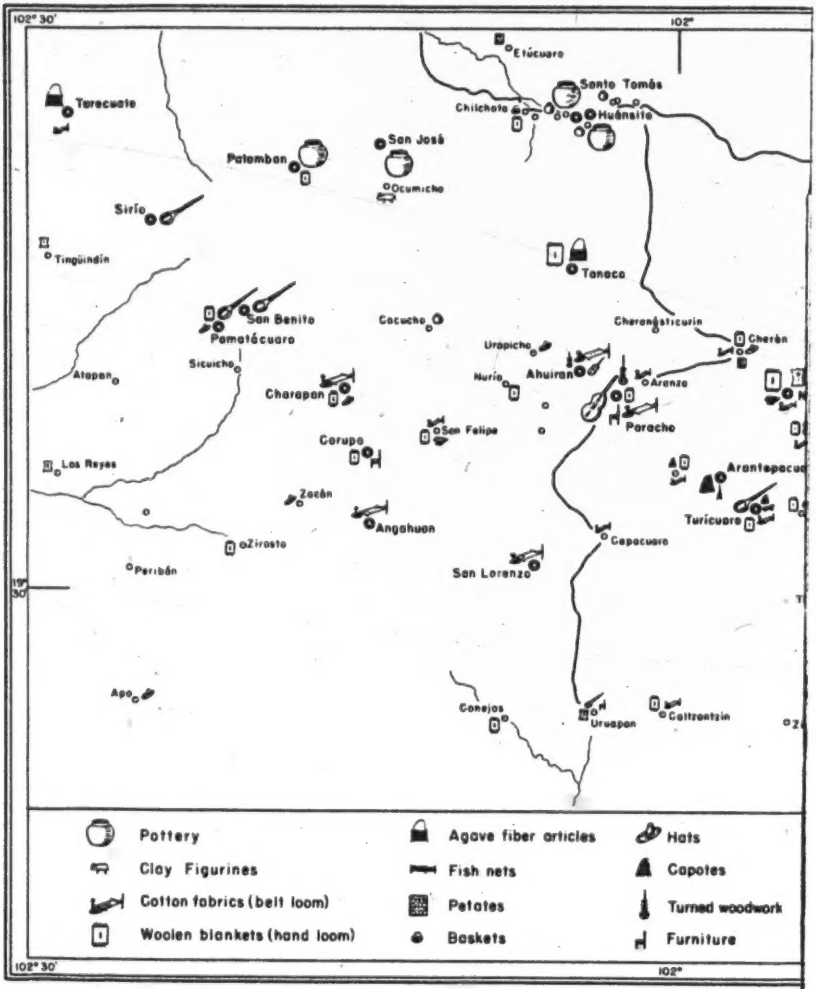

[Facing page 66; section A]

MAP 20.—Distribution of handicrafts in the m

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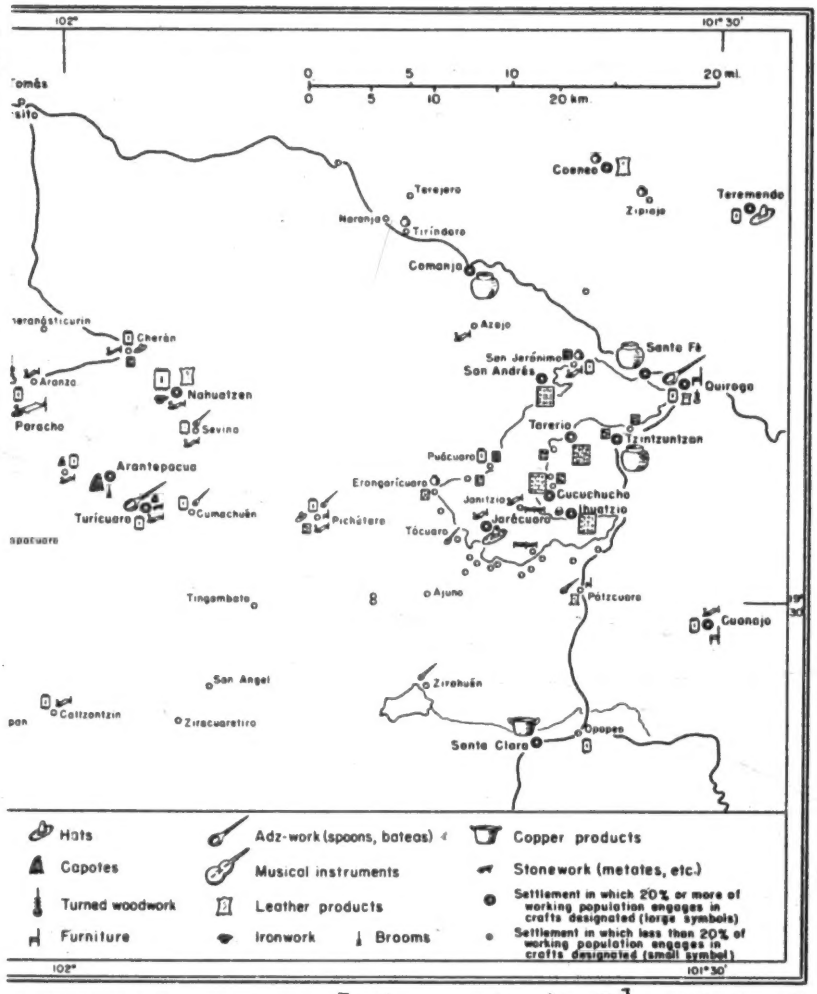

ion of handicrafts in the modern Tarascan area. [Facing page 66; section B.]

748868 O - 48 (Face p. 66)

322 industry more than 150 years old; in only five of the present towns do more than 25 percent of the working population engage in woodwork.

Adz work.—This is the simplest of the wood techniques now practiced by Tarascans (and by other Indian groups, as well as by mestizos in many parts of Mexico). Before the Conquest the Indians shaped boats from a single log and carved delicate figures on throwing sticks and tom-toms, possibly using obsidian and copper cutting tools. With the introduction of the [177] European steel adz and gouge early in the 16th century, native wood carving was greatly facilitated. One of the earliest European objects which the Tarascans carved with the adz was the saddle frame (*fuste*), an industry which disappeared 100 years ago. Today wooden spoons 322 and bowls (*bateas*) of softwoods are the principal ● 438 adz and gouge products, Pamatácuaro and its offspring settlements Sirío and San Benito being the chief producers.[161] These objects are also made in the Tarascan villages of Turícuaro, Cumachuén, Pichátaro, Zirosto (formerly important) and Sevina (where the industry was introduced a few years ago), and in the mestizo towns of Pátzcuaro, Tócuaro, Zirahuén, Uruapan, Quiroga. Spoons and bowls are made from softwoods: *jaboncillo* (šápu), *palo blano* (urápit-úku), and *aile* (pámu). Occasionally *bateas* are made of pine. Tools include the common adz and variously shaped gouges, which are driven with a [H12] wooden mallet (pl. 13). The products of Pamatácuaro and surrounding settlements are marketed in all parts of Michoacán and sometimes are taken as far as Guadalajara and Mexico City.

Lathe work.—This represents one of the most characteristic forms of modern Tarascan woodcraft, Paracho being the center of the *torneros*. Formerly the simple bow lathe was employed to make bowls, vases, candlesticks, chocolate beaters (*molinillos*), chessmen, toys (tops, yoyos), darning eggs, etc. (See Beals, 1946, p. 43, for illustration of bow lathe.) Since 1942, however, when a power line was constructed near the town, most of the bows have been replaced by electrically powered lathes. About six *torneros* in Paracho and five in neighboring Ahuíran still use the bow. Formerly turned objects, chiefly rosaries, choco-

[161] It is doubtful that wooden *bateas* were carved before the Spanish Conquest. Gourds of *Crescentia alata* probably functioned for the modern *bateas*. The "*bateas*" employed in early Spanish gold placering in the *tierra caliente* were likely fashioned from *Crescentia* gourds.

322 [438] late beaters, and *malacates*, were made in Charapan and Cocucho, but this activity has now disappeared. Most of the turned objects are shaped from madroño wood (panáɳksa). Carving is done by pressing variously shaped steel chisels and gouges against the whirling block of wood. [531] In Paracho, designs are painted and burned into objects, and the surface lacquered or varnished. [177] The wheel lathe, an early Spanish introduction, is used by most cabinetmakers in the area for turning wood.

Cabinet work.—As mentioned earlier, cabinet work was rapidly adopted by Tarascan craftsmen in the early colonial period. In the 17th and 18th centuries inventories of miners' and merchants' household goods in west-central and northern Mexico rarely fail to mention chairs, tables, boxes "de Mechoacán." The majority of present Tarascan towns has at least one cabinetmaker who partially satisfies local demand for furniture. In [438] Paracho, Corupo, and Cuanajo—the Tarascan furniture centers—carpenters make chairs, tables, bed frames. Cuanajo is famed for its wooden chests, which are marketed in all parts of Michoacán. Most furniture is made from pine wood with simple tools (saw, mallet, plane, chisel, gouge). As mentioned above, chair and table legs are turned on the wheel lathe (fig. 6). The more common jointing techniques used include mor-

322 ticing and tenoning, housing, and dovetailing. Some pieces are joined with wooden pegs; metallic nails and screws are never employed.

322 534 **Musical instruments.**—The most sophisticated of Tarascan woodwork is the manufacture of stringed instruments in Paracho. This pueblo has been the guitar town of Mexico since colonial [438] times. In 1940 Paracho claimed 49 guitar makers and three individuals who made violins (including base viols). The art has spread to neighboring Ahuíran, where three men made violins in 1946. Local woods—*firímu*, *aile*, and *palo blanco*—are used for the top and base of the guitars; for sides and handles and inlaid designs walnut and cedar are imported from Mexico. Some *guitarreros* utilize local pine and fir for the tops of violins and base viols. The wood is cut with a small saw and planed to desired thinness. The top and base are cut from a pattern; the side bands are soaked and bent into place, being glued to the top and bottom pieces and held in place with braces. Strings and metal parts are assembled, and the instrument is varnished and waxed, ready for the ultimate consumer. Most *guitarreros* work on a [439] contract basis for Mexico City or Guadalajara buyers, and many Tarascans have moved their trade to the larger towns, mainly Mexico City, where their products bring higher prices.

The age of the Paracho guitar work is not known.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69a--ANALYST]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 69-a]

322 It is first mentioned as an established industry in the report of 1789 (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 344), indicating that it had been introduced for some time.

LACQUER WORK

386 Modern lacquerwork in Michoacán is closely
322 associated with wood carved with the adz and lathe. Before the Spanish Conquest various gourds (*Lagenaria*, *Cucurbita*, and *Crescentia*) were lacquered with a varnish made from the insect *axin* (*Coccus axin*) and *chía* (*Salvia* sp.) This industry probably centered in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins (Brand, 1944, p. 60) and was extended into the towns near the southern edge of the Sierra, e. g., Peribán and Uruapan. After the introduction of Spanish adz work during the colonial period, lacquer was applied to wooden *bateas* in Peribán, Zirosto, Zacán, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. *Bateas* were painted, but not lacquered, in Cucupao (Quiroga) and Santa Fé de la Laguna. Today few Tarascans practice the art, the famous *bateas* of Uruapan being lacquered by mestizos. Some of the turned vases and bowls of Paracho are finished with tung oil and synthetic lacquer purchased in mestizo markets.

LEATHERCRAFT

282 Probably one of the first native Tarascan crafts stimulated and expanded by the early Spaniards was leatherwork. With the introduction of cattle, Tarascan tanners were able to multiply leather production, which formerly had been based on deerskin, to meet the heavy Spanish demand for saddles, halters, shoes (the famous *"zapatos de baqueta de mechoacán"*).[132] Tanning was done with local oak bark, as it is today (AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13). During the colonial period leather-
282 crafts were centered in the northern Tarascan
438 towns near the pastures and hide supply, and in a few pueblos of the Sierra. The latter included Cherán, Cheranátzicurin, Ocumicho, and Nahuatzen, which was one of the largest tanning centers

[132] Fray Toribio de Motolinía's statement of 1540 on the Tarascan leather industry is revealing: *"Han deprendido a curtir cueros . . . son buenos zapateros, que hacen zapatos y cerrillos* [slippers], *borceguíes* [high shoes], *pantuflos, chapines* [wooden shoes with leather straps] *de mugeres; . . . este oficio comenzó en Michoacán, porque allí se curten los buenos cueros de venados. Hacen todo lo que es menester para una silla ginete hasta y fuste, coraza y sobrecoraza . . ."* (Motolinía, 1903, p. 133). According to the Relación de Michoacán (p. 16) "*cotaras de cuero*," or leather sandals, were made for the caltzontzin in pre-Conquest times.

282 in the Tarascan area.[153] By the latter part of the
438 19th century leathercrafts began to decline, and today within the Tarascan area only Nahuatzen (largely mestizo) continues to tan hides and make saddles and other riding equipment.[154] Some Tarascan towns now boast of one or two *zapateros* who make huaraches of imported leather for local consumption. The principal huarache-making centers are now the surrounding mestizo towns: Coeneo, Zacapu, Tinguindín, Los Reyes, Uruapan, Ario de Rosales.

METALCRAFT

325 **Copper work.**—The Tarascans were probably the foremost metallurgists in pre-Columbian Mexico. They worked gold, silver, and copper. The precious metals were formed into ornaments and disks, which the *caltzontzin* stored on the islands in Lake Pátzcuaro; useful objects, such as axes, *coas*, and spearheads, were made of copper (Relación de Michoacán, pp. 104–109, 122–123). Although definite archeological evi-
325 dence is not yet at hand, it is probable that the
172 Tarascans purified native copper and extracted metal from simple oxide ores by smelting (Hendrichs, 1940, p. 327).[155] From cursory inspection of copper artifacts extant in the Museo Regional Michoacano, Morelia, it appears that Tarascans cast copper objects (axheads) in stone molds. After casting, the axes seem to have been further shaped and possibly hardened by hammering.[156] Accidental, rather than deliberate, alloying with tin and zinc probably occurred.

325 The Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins contained
316 the ancient copper mines and metallurgical sites.
172 Hendrichs (1940, 1945–46) has described several probable ancient copper mines sites in both the

[153] AGN Tierras, vol. 83, exped. 13; Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 7, pp. 361–362; AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 178–179. The present northern Tarascan towns of Zipiajo, Azajo, Companja, Tzejero, Tiriduro, Naranja, and Teremendo were all producers of shoes and saddles in the latter part of the 18th and in the 19th century.

[154] Beals (1946, p. 44) states that in 1940 one person from Aranza was tanning hides in Cherán. The old men of Ocumicho remember the manufacture of the black "*zapatos de raquetas*" in their town during the last century. These were sold throughout the tierra as well as in surrounding mestizo towns.

[155] The Lienzo de Jucutacato, a 16th-century representation of the migration of a people from the Gulf of Mexico into the Tarascan country (where they learned metallurgy) clearly depicts smelting of ore or metal (probably copper) apparently with the aid of charcoal and forced air draft (blowpipes) at the ancient copper center of Jicalán (Jicalán Viejo), 20 km. south of Uruapan.

[156] Microanalysis of Tarascan copperware has not yet been undertaken. Until the results of such analyses are known, it is impossible to make definite statements as to ancient metallurgical methods. Interestingly, the flange shape of the modern Tarascan steel axhead is identical with that of the copper axes found in archeological sites in the Balsas Basin.

325 southern and northern drainages of the lower
172 Balsas (Guerrero). However, the mines of
316 Inguarán in the northern drainage of the lower Balsas in Michoacán were the main source of the metal. Smaller deposits, such as those of Sinagua, were gophered over a wide area. The villages
● [438] of La Huacana, Jicalán, Sinagua, and possibly Tzatzio appear to have been the chief pre-Columbian copper refining centers.[137]

325 Needing copper for the manufacture of brass
438 cannon, the Spaniards quickly levied tribute in copper bars on various pueblos in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec Basins. Later, adventurers (in the name of the Crown) took over the native mines
[177] at Inguarán, probably introducing European smelting techniques. The main 16th-century Spanish smelting and refining center was Tzatzio, 10 miles each of Ario. This center was located within pine and oak forests, which afforded raw materials for charcoal, and was near the chief highway from Pátzcuaro to the *tierra caliente*. Copper ore and probably native copper was carried by Indians to Tzatzio from the Inguarán mines, which lay 15 miles to the south (AGN General de Parte, vol. 5, ff. 311–313, 1601). Tzatzio was probably an ancient copper center, and the experienced Tarascan metallurgists were retained by the Spaniards to continue with European methods. Before the end of the 16th century the Spanish Crown had established an *asiento* in the Michoacán copper industry, in order to insure a steady supply of metal for the foundaries in Mexico City.[138] Between 1607 and 1614

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[137] The Suma de Visitas, ca. 1540, state that the Spaniards exacted tribute of copper bars from La Huacana and Jicalán (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 123, 204). Moreover, every 20 days 20 Indians of Coyuca carried copper bars to Mexico (ibid., p. 80). Coyuca, located near the confluence of the Balsas and Cutzamala Rivers, may have been a collecting point for small lots of copper refined in various pueblos of the middle Balsas drainage. At the end of the 16th century copper was still being mined, refined, and made into tools at Sinagua (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Cinguacingo). Tzatzio was one of the first Spanish copper smelting centers in the area, and was probably an old Tarascan center as well (AGI Aud. de México, leg. 238). In passing, it should be noted that the old La Huacana was located near the Inguarán mines. In 1759 the town was destroyed by the eruption of Jorullo, and a new settlement, the La Huacana seen on modern maps, was established near Tamacuaro 15 miles west of the old site (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 393-394)

[138] Under the *asiento*, or contract, system, control of various industries was farmed out to private individuals. In the case of the copper industry of Michoacán, administrative control was purchased from the Crown for 6-year periods. The administrator was obliged to furnish the Government a stipulated amount of copper annually at a fixed price. In 1599 an official survey was made of the copper industry in Michoacán. The surveyor recommended that owing to forest depletion around Tzatzio and the consequent difficulty in charcoal supply, refining operations should be moved to Ario, near abundant pine forests (AGI Aud. de Mexico, leg. 238). It is doubtful that this move was made, since in 1607 copper was still being refined at Tzatzio (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 166).

325 438 official copper refining operations had shifted 20 miles northward to Santa Clara (Villa Escalante), which has remained the copper center of Michoacán to this day (AGN Minería, vol. 22, exped. 3). In addition to copper bars for the royal artillery, the colonial administrators established the manufacture of caldrons and other copper vessels, which they sold to all parts of New Spain (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 389).[189] Colonial copper production, however, was not limited to the royal refineries at Santa Clara, for as late as 1789 braziers were still being made by native coppersmiths at Jicalán (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 366). Moreover, some copperwork was done in Pátzcuaro throughout the colonial period.[190]

Today the sole survivors of the former Tarascan copper industry are some 30 mestizo coppersmiths in Santa Clara, where the renowned *casos* (caldrons), vases, and bowls are still manufactured. Ore or native copper is no longer refined; instead, scrap copper is purchased, melted down, and cast in earthen molds. Sixteenth-century hand bellows are still used to force an air draft; charcoal is employed for fuel. The cast vessel is finished and hardened by alternate annealing and hammering.

Ironworking.—With its concomitant tools (bellows, hammers, anvils, tongs, etc.), ironworking [177] was introduced into Tarascan economy early in the 16th century. Curiously, one Sierra village, San Felipe de los Herreros, became the foremost ironworking center of Michoacán during the colonial period and the early 19th century. In 1644 bridle bits, spurs, locks and keys were fashioned and marketed in surrounding Spanish and mestizo towns (Basalenque, 1886, vol. 1, p. 467). As late as 1851, 68 families (practically the entire town) were professional smiths, supplying the countryside with plow tips, hoe blades, axheads, woodworking tools, etc. In 1946 three

[189] During the 17th century Tarascans from all parts of Michoacán were forced to work in the Inguarán mines and the *fundiciones* at Santa Clara. Most of the *fundidores* came from the *tierra caliente* and from the *tierra fría* towns of Zirosto and Pátzcuaro (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 6, p. 166; vol. 7, p. 260). In 1789 there were 8 copper refineries at Santa Clara, each operated by 30 to 40 men (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 389).

[190] The Relación de Pátzcuaro of 1581 (p. 47) mentions "*herreros y caldereo.*" Basalenque (1886, vol. 1, p. 451), writing in 1644, states that copper bells were made in Pátzcuaro. As late as 1863 (Romero (1862, p. 7) writes of Pátzcuaro coppersmiths, who were refining ore from Inguarán and Churumuco. Several new copper deposits in Michoacan were exploited during the last quarter of the 18th century, e. g., the mines of Apupato, near the old site of Ureabe (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 388) and those of Chirangangueo, near Tuzantla, south of Zitácuaro (AGN Minería, vol. 62, exped. 1; Martínez de Lejarza, 1824, p. 92).

325 old smiths, who work at their trade only part time, represented the remnant of a once thriving home industry.

[439] The former source of metal for the San Felipe smiths is problematical. According to a local informant, during the 1880's "*planchas de hierro*" were brought in from Cotija, a muleteer and trade center having close connections with the *tierra caliente* and the Sierra of Guerrero. This information points to Coalcomán in the Sierra Madre del Sur of Guerrero as the principal source of iron. Other ironworking towns of Michoacán include Irimbo and Nahuatzen. Mestizos in the latter pueblo fashion knives and machetes.

STONECUTTING

324 Stonework among modern Tarascans is limited to approximately 12 metate makers in Turícuaro.
[438] Formerly this village was noted throughout Michoacán for the high-quality *metates* (iauáni), *manos* (poɾékua), and *molcajetes* (šúmatakua) carved from a fine-grained andésite (ɾakápu amákiti, or "good stone"), found near the summit of the composite volcano Kanákuaráni (Cerro de la Corona) nearby. Since the introduction (ca.
[256] 1925) of the engine-powered nixtamal mills in mestizo and larger indigenous towns, demand for new *metates* has sharply declined.[161]

Metates and *molcajetes* are roughly shaped at the quarry on Kanákuaráni and are carried down to the pueblo on burro for finishing in the stonecutter's house. Stone is worked with steel tools,
[412] e. g. the pick (píkua) and sledge hammer (píkuak'éri), and is finished with a polishing stone (janámu). Several sizes of *metates* are made and sold to traveling merchants who pass through the town.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 The structure of trade among the Tarascans is
441 not dissimilar to that of most Indian groups of central Mexico. Although every settlement has at least one store where general merchandise can be purchased, most trading is done at the *tianguis*, or market, held regularly in the larger towns. Throughout the area professional traders—*huacaleros* (who carry merchandise on their backs), *arrieros* (who haul products on the backs of burros), and lately, wholesale buyers from the

[161] According to local informants, in 1912 practically every family in the village made metates. Since that time most of the villagers have turned to woodwork (mainly baiser).

[P. 71b]

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441 large mestizo towns (who ride in trucks and busses)—all serve as distributing agents.

443 **The market (uašájpikuaru, or "the place where**
439 **people sit").**—Sunday is the most important market day for the Tarascans.[182] Large groups of Indians from neighboring pueblos flock to the regular markets held in the large mestizo towns within or on the edge of the Tarascan area. Since colonial times Paracho has been the largest Indian commercial center of the Sierra. To the south Los Reyes and Uruapan are the exchange centers for *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* merchandise.[183] A lesser number of Indians attend the northern market towns: Zamora, Tingüindín, Purépero, Zacapu, and Chilchota (the commercial center for the La Cañada pueblos). Generally speaking, each large Sunday market draws upon a certain Indian area defined by a walking or riding distance of one day or less (map 21). On occasion, however, the Pátzcuaro or Uruapan *tianguis* is visited by Indians who live more than 1 day's travel away. In the Sierra often the entire family attends the regular market, leaving Saturday with handicrafts or farm products (usually fruit, chickens, or eggs) packed on burros, and arriving at the plaza at night.[184] Sunday morning is a time of brisk trading. By afternoon most of the traders have sold their wares, purchased supplies, and have departed for their respective pueblos. The Lake Pátzcuaro fishers got to market in boats, carrying fish and vegetables to Pátzcuaro, Erongarícuaro, and Quiroga to trade for maize, wheat, and firewood.

Lesser markets are regularly held in a few smaller Indian towns. For example, there is a Sunday market at Charapan, attended by people from Cocucho, Urapicho, Corupo, San Felipe, and Nurío. On Saturdays and Mondays there is some commercial activity in Cherán, as professional traders pass through the town going to and coming from the Sunday Uruapan market (Beals, 1946, p. 80). Again, on Thursdays

[Text continues top of P. 73a—Analyst]

[184] [182] An important exception is the Pátzcuaro market held on Fridays and Sundays. A minor fish market occurs also on Tuesdays.

[183] Formerly Parhán was one of the largest *tierra caliente—tierra fría* markets in Michoacán, but since the close of the colonial era it has ceded most of its trade to Los Reyes nearby. Important fresh markets are still held in Parhán however.

[184] [494] Within the last 8 years the pueblos along the Uruapan highway have ridden busses or taxis to market. Since 1943 similar transport has been extended to Charapan, Zirósto, and intermediate pueblos. Moreover, during the dry season lumber trucks haul loads of men and women from some Sierra towns to mestizo markets.

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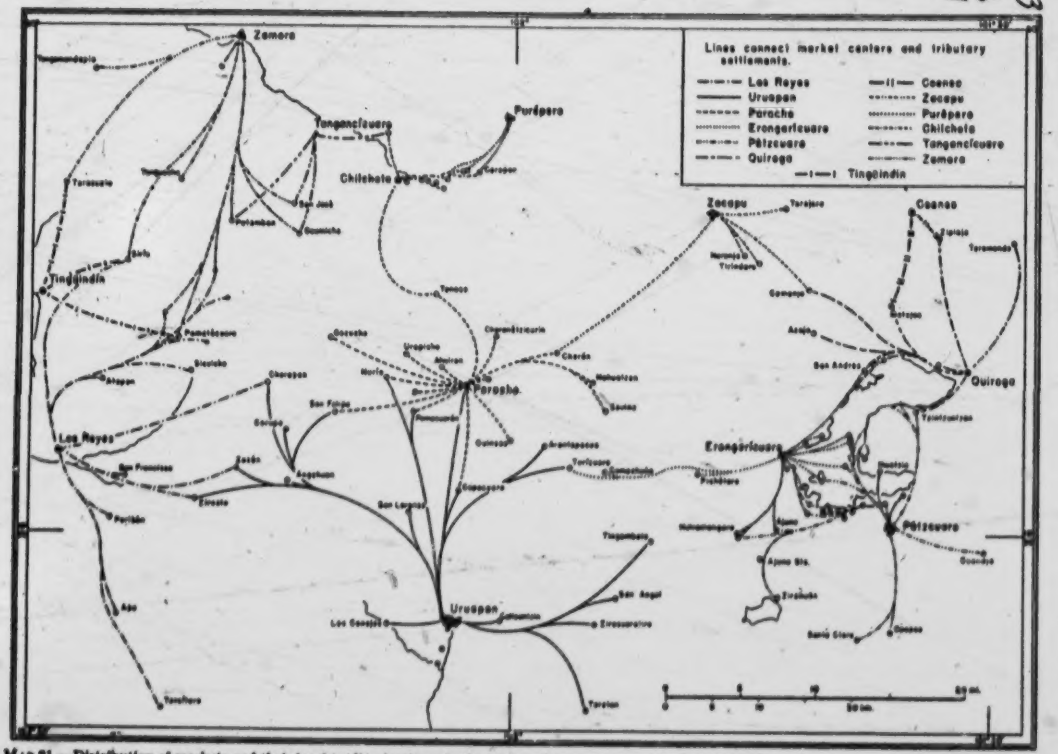
4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[P. 92]



MAP 21.—Distribution of markets and their local trading territory in the modern Tarascan area. Black circles and town outlines represent markets. Many non-Tarascan towns tributary to the main markets are not indicated.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 73-a]

443 438 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practically every village lively trading accompanies the annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In some instances such markets are large enough to be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongaricuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the [651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongaricuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Puríbán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Puríbán (April 14, 1940) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 73-b]

444 which handles mainly staple food imports (salted dried beef, dried fish, salt, piloncillo, lard, beans, and wheat flour) and beverages (soft drinks, beer, and hard liquors). A small assortment of canned goods can be purchased in the stores of the larger towns. Often other items, such as cigarettes, kerosene, and metal household ware, are carried. In the small villages stores are customarily operated by well-to-do Tarascan families, often by the wife and children, while the man farms.[167] In the large pueblos the storekeepers are usually mestizos who have moved in from neighboring towns.[168] [177] Significantly, the infiltration of Spanish-speaking storekeepers into indigenous towns often represents one of the initial steps toward hispanicization of the native population.[169]

443 **The professional traders.**—The *huacalero* (inspikuiiri, or "one who trades") represents the last vestige of the ancient Indian carriers (*tamemes*), formerly important agents of distribution throughout Mexico. Few such traveling merchants, each of whom carries his wares in a wooden crate (*huacal*, kópaɹakua) tied to his back, remain; the majority have been displaced by burro and motor transportation. As late as 1900 large 443 numbers of Tarascan *huacaleros* from many 439 Sierra villages carried handicrafts into the Balsas Basin, the coast of Guerrero, and Colima and returned with tropical fruit, salt, and cheese. Today about 15 *huacaleros* operate out of Pamatácuaro, carrying locally made wooden spoons and *bateas*, Patamban pottery, *morrales* from

[438] [443] made goods from Zamora, Guadalajara, Morelia, and México. Regional handicrafts were represented as follows:

Article:	Origin	Vendors (number)
Blankets	Charapan	10 walking vendors.
Blankets	Jiquilpan	1 stall.
Rebozos	Paracho	1 stall.
Women's belts	Nahuatzen	1 stall.
Straw hats	Apo	1 stall.
Agave rope	Tarecuato	2 stalls.
Pottery	Patamban	12 stalls.
Pottery	Santa Fé	1 stall.
Pottery	San Juan Tlaquepaque (Jalisco).	1 stall.
Wooden tops	Paracho	1 stall.
Wicker baskets	Tangamandapio	1 stall.
Huaraches	Los Reyes	3 stalls.
Huaraches	Puríbán	1 stall.

[167] Cherán, as Beals points out (1946, p. 79), is unique in that, although it is the largest Tarascan town, the storekeepers are Tarascan.

[168] For example, although Tarecuato is almost wholly native in speech, its three or four stores are operated by mestizos. Merchants of Paracho, Patamban, and Nahuatzen are all mestizos.

[169] [609] Apart from its distributive function, the village store (mestizo or indigenous) frequently serves as the only readily accessible public place where a stranger may introduce himself and ask questions about the town. Except in the municipal seats, the town officials, all of whom hold nonremunerative posts, are rarely found in the juzgado, or town hall.

443 Tarecuato, and medicinal herbs of the Sierra to
439 Colima, most parts of Jalisco, the *tierra caliente* of Michoacán and Guerrero. Tropical fruits make up most of the return load. A few professional carriers haul pottery from Santa Fé to Quiroga and, at times, to Morelia. *Huacaleros* from other towns have practically disappeared.

443 Although they do not use the large *huacal*, many women of the Sierra devote most of their
438 time to carrying various products to the surrounding mestizo markets. For instance, the women of the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* (Uringuitiro, Tierra Blanca, etc.) carry *ocote* splinters, wooden spoons, and tamales to Zamora, Chilchota, Patamban, and the Lake area.[170] Again, some women of Corupo collect eggs and chickens from surrounding towns and take them to the Sunday market at Uruapan.[171]

492 The *arrieros*, or the "mule-skinners," in spite of inroads of motor transportation, still account
443 for a large part of the interregional trade in Michoacán. Mule and burro transport came into
[177] use on a large scale in New Spain after the forced services of the *tamemes* were restricted in the last half of the 16th century (Spain. Law, Statutes, etc., Lib. VI, tit. 12, ley 6–10). Indians, however, were slow to adopt animal transport. Even in the latter part of the 18th century the majority of the muleteers operating in Michoacán were Spaniards or mestizos, who hired Indians as helpers. By 1789 some Tarascans owned mule or burro trains in Cherán, Urapicho, Angahuan, Charapan, and Pomacuarán (AGN Historia, vol.
[439] 73). Even today the greater part of the *arrieros* operating in the Tarascan area are mestizos with headquarters in some of the northern towns.

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[170] During such trips the women of these ranchos may be gone from their households for 3 or 4 days. In their absence housework is done by the children or the men, who rarely travel.

[171] Such rounds may last a week. The women visit Charapan, Zacan, Ziristo, Pamatácuaro on certain days, returning to Corupo by Friday, and arrive at Uruapan Saturday evening. Eggs are carried in a small crate held on the back with the *ayate*. Six or seven chickens are tied on the top of the box, and, in addition, many women carry one or two fowls in their arms.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
NU34 Tarasco NU34

ten of the *Once Pueblos* of pre-Conquest days.

South of La Cañada stretches an elevated area of high mountains which cradle wide and fertile valleys. This is the fabled La Sierra country.

East of La Sierra the land falls away to the lower elevation of the lake country which includes the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Pátzcuaro. The latter, horseshoe in shape with the curve at the west and the two prongs to the east, has its northern and western shores dotted with Tarascan villages. Within the fastness of the lake lie three important Tarascan islands: Janitzio, an astonishingly enormous rock rising high above the blue expanse, with its picturesque fishing village clinging to one side; Jarácuaro, wide and flat, with its village of hat weavers; and La Pacanda, high and flat, with its farms sitting up above the water's edge.

These areas form the solid nucleus of the Tarascan country, whose people, with surprising vigor, resist outside influences threatening to destroy their traditional way of life.

This is a hilly country with conifers on the highest slopes. The lower hills are starred in the summer rainy season with bright red, clear yellow, and delicate violet wildflowers. Michoacán does not become drab even in the dry season, but rather takes on the colors of old tapestries. Its soil is reddish or saffron, its houses dusty white to deep gray, its roofs brownish red, and its lakes azure blue.

Into this area came the ancestors of the Tarascans sometime between the seventh and twelfth centuries of our era. The German scholar Seler (1908, p. 33), in his interpretation of a questionable sixteenth-century codex called the "Lienzo de Jucutacato," argues that they entered the region in the seventh century, but archaeological evidence does not seem to support such an early date. Certainly by the twelfth century they were located in the Lake Pátzcuaro region, in Zacapu, and in La Sierra at Patamban and Tarecuato (Fig. 1).

In olden days the Tarascans were fierce fighters who, over a period of time, forged an empire which successfully repulsed attacks by Aztec armies. It was their hatred of the Aztecs that

[Text continues on p. 4]

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NU34 Tarasco NU34

ancient art of guitar making has aided in the preservation of folk songs and possibly folk tales.

The Legend

The pretty Tzintzin, the modest and genteel priestess of the sun, unwittingly tantalized the young Tarascan warriors with her deep red lips and brilliant black eyes. As was her custom, she went out one day with her empty jar on her shoulder to obtain some water from the fountain.

The Tarascan region was famed for its beautiful young maidens. However, among handsome young men it was the mention of Tzintzin's name that inspired the most ardent emotions, wild desires, and impossible aspirations – impossible because her heart already had been given to a young huntsman. The fortunate youth was the elegant Quanicoti, the best hunter and warrior in the kingdom. He wore the most beautiful skins and feathers in Paracho.

The souls of the young priestess and hunter were united in love as pure as the fragrance of flowers, as clean as the breath of spring. However, their devotion was as impetuous as the rushing waterfall in the Tzaráracua stream, falling in multicolored ribbons as in homage to the gods.

That afternoon as Tzintzin walked through the forest, her lover awaited to offer her the prettiest flower in the meadow and to help her carry the water home. Upon sighting one another, the eternal dialogue of love, the same in all ages and all languages, began its course.

As usual, time passed rapidly without the two lovers noting the lowering of Father Sun in his course through the sky. Always such tardiness evoked reproaches from Tzintzin's venerable parents. This afternoon the lovers were so engrossed in words of love that Father Sun approached the horizon and hid behind a rose-colored cloud. Gently the song of the nightingale fell upon the ears of the happy couple. Tzintzin gazed lovingly upon her lover as he left her.

Suddenly, in anguish, Tzintzin realized that the time had

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
[End Plate 2]
NU34 Tarasco NU34

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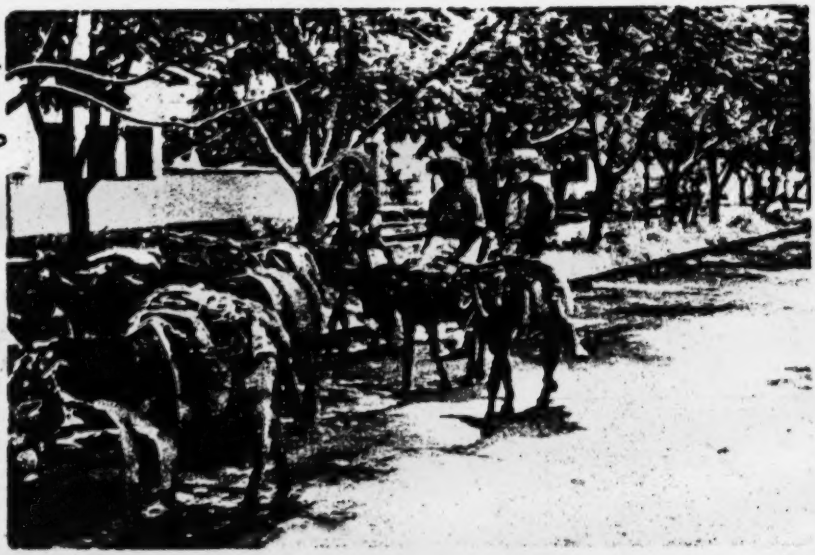

Plate II. Tarascan Houses and Mode of Travel

[76] *Upper*, Tarascan homes, wooden fences are a recent innovation.
[103] *Lower*, Tarascans returning to mountains after selling firewood in
[438] Morelia.